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D. IUNII IUVENALIS

SATIRAE

WITH

A LITERAL ENGLISH PROSE TRANSLATION AND NOTES

BY

JOHN DELAWARE LEWIS, M.A.
TRIN. COLL. CAMB.

Second Edition, Revised

VOL. II.

LONDON
TRÜBNER & CO., LUDGATE HILL
1882

INTRODUCTION AND NOTES.

CORRIGENDA.

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INTRODUCTION.

The little that we can gather of Juvenal's life and character must be collected almost entirely from scattered indications contained in his writings. Unlike Horace, he was not in the habit of gossiping about himself, the solemn tone and didactic style of the greater part of his Satires precluding his taking his readers into his confidence in this kind of way; and accordingly such indications will be found to be very few and very far between. Before proceeding to consider them, however, it will be desirable to notice the evidences as to his life which come to us from external sources. There is extant a biography of him, labelled, along with several other biographies, with the name of Suetonius, but supposed to be written by some old grammarian. As it is short, I give it entire, chiefly from the text of Jahn, subjoining two or three various readings which have a bearing upon the subject matter of the life, and omitting others which may be described as merely grammatical variations.

Junius Juvenalis, libertini locupletis incertum filius an alumnus, ad mediam fere aetatem declamavit, animi magis causa quam quod scholae se aut foro praepararet, et dein paucorum versuum satira non absurde composita in Paridem pantomimum poetamque * semenstribus militiolis tumentem genus scripturae industrie excoluit, et tamen bene diu ne

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* *Claudii Neronis. ejus.*

modico quidem auditorio quicquam committere est ausus, mox magna frequentia tantoque successu bis aut ter auditus est, ut ea quoque quae prima fecerat inferciret novis scriptis : "quod non dant proceres dabit histrio, tu Camerinos et Bareas, tu nobilium magna atria curas? praefectos Pelopea facit, Philomela tribunos." erat tunc in deliciis aulae histrio * multique fautorum ejus quottidie provehebantur. venit ergo Juvenalis in suspicionem quasi tempora † figura ‡ notasset, ac statim per honorem militiae quamquam octogenarius urbe summotus est missusque ad praefecturam cohortis in extrema parte Aegypti tendentis. id supplicii genus placuit ut levi atque joculari delicto par esset. verum intra brevissimum tempus angore ac taedio periit.

Junius Juvenalis, the son or the adopted son, it is uncertain which, of a wealthy freedman, practised declamation till about middle life, rather for amusement's § sake than in order to prepare himself for school or forum; and afterwards having composed a clever satire || of a few lines on Paris the actor in pantomimes, and a poet [of his] who was puffed up with his six months' military rank, he cultivated diligently this kind of writing. And yet, for a very long time, he did not venture to intrust anything even to a small audience. But after a while he was heard two or three times by so large a concourse, and with so much success, that he inserted in his new writings the lines he had first composed, "Quod non dant proceres dabit histrio," &c. The actor [*or* an actor] ¶ was at that time one of the court minions, and many of his supporters were daily receiving promotion. Juvenal consequently incurred the suspicion of indirectly ** censuring the [existing] times, and forthwith, under the guise of military promotion, though he was eighty years of age, was removed from the city, and sent to be praefect of a cohort which was quartered at the extremity of Egypt. This kind of punishment was decided upon, as being adapted to a light and jocular kind of offence. However, in the course of a very short time, he died of vexation and ennui.

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* *histrio*, omitted. † *praesentia.* ‡ *figurate* for *figura.*

§ *animi*, "inclination." || *non absurde*, "wittily," in Sueton. Dom. 3.

¶ If *histrio* be omitted, we shall have to understand the meaning to be that he (Paris) was among the court favourites; or that some one was among the court favourites; or we must suppose some word other than *histrio* to have dropped out.

** *figura*, "an allusion." It is so used by Sueton. in Dom. 10. Spartan. Severus 14 and elsewhere. *figurate*, "figuratively," which would mean the same thing.

The great difficulty in connection with this life is, that, at first sight, the only event in it which we are able to test is impossible. If, that is to say, the actor at whose instance Juvenal, eighty years old, was banished from Rome be taken—as he has generally been taken—for the Paris of Domitian, then the whole narrative is enveloped in a cloud of fable. There were two celebrated actors named Paris in the first century, the more recent of whom (the one here alluded to) was put to death by Domitian at the beginning of his reign. Yet it is certain, from his own writings, that Juvenal was alive, and composing satires, and apparently in Rome, several years after the death of that emperor, and some twenty years after the death of Paris.

This difficulty was seen at a very early period; and accordingly in one MS. at the end of a life which, with a few variations, is the same as that given above, we find the words after *brevissimum tempus*, left out, and the following substituted: "*θεὸς αὐτὸς* adscribitur Divorum choro, revertiturque Juvenalis Romam, qui tandem ad Nervae et Trajani principatum supervivens senio et taedio vitae confectus properantem spiritum cum tussi exspuit," *i.e.*, Domitian dies, and Juvenal comes back to Rome, and lives into Trajan's time. According to this, he must have been writing satires when he was a hundred years of age, a supposition which may at once be dismissed. Another life makes him come back to Rome, and die of grief because he did not find his friend Martial there (a story which the grammarian who wrote it evidently "evolved" from the fact that Juvenal is named three times by Martial); another makes him live in exile till the time of Antoninus Pius; another makes Trajan the emperor who orders his banishment (to Scotland, not Egypt), upon which he dies of the shock. These lives may come from one or more common sources; they are of little or no value; but it must be observed that they all agree as to the fact of Juvenal's banishment, differing from each other only as

to the details.* Suidas and a scholium on Juvenal (iv. 38) are also in agreement with the other authorities as to this point.

But on looking a little more closely at the so-called life by Suetonius—undoubtedly the most ancient of these documents, and the only one which merits particular attention—the difficulty in a great degree vanishes. It is plain, on examination, that two different actors must be intended—(1.) The man on whom the poet's satirical lines were originally written, when, in middle age, he first took to this kind of composition; (2.) The man to whom, long afterwards, *i.e.*, when an octogenarian, he applied them. This great interval of time is patent on the face of the biography, and is confirmed by such expressions as *bene diu*, the long while during which the poet did not dare trust himself to an audience, and *quasi tempora* (to which some MSS. add *praesentia*) *figura notasset*, as though he had covertly satirised the *then* times. Now, putting aside external objections, which are quite insuperable, it is inconceivable that the same Paris who was a favourite player in Juvenal's prime should be found *in deliciis aulae* (an expression as to which see note to Satire iv. 3) some forty years afterwards! Two different persons are evidently meant. The Paris named at the beginning must be either Nero's or Domitian's favourite. One of the transcribers, who has seen the point to which attention is being called, has supposed him to be the former, and has added after *poetam* the words *Claudii Neronis*. But the difficulties in the way of such a supposition are very great. If these lines were originally composed on the elder Paris towards the end of his career about A.D. 67, and afterwards applied to the younger one, we have not a sufficient interval of time left to account

* Seven of these lives are given at the end of Jahn's edition. There is another life given in Achaintre, but evidently of much later date.

for the poet's passage from middle life to old age; for the younger Paris seems to have been put to death about A.D. 83. In that case, Juvenal would not have *begun* to write satires till he was past sixty. If we suppose them to have been written in the early part of Nero's reign and the elder Paris's career, viz., about A.D. 56, we still have to confront a difficulty which also waits upon the former supposition, and indeed upon all theories which suppose Juvenal, at the age of eighty, to have been banished on the application of the younger Paris. There is conclusive evidence from his own writings that such a theory is not sustainable. As we have just seen, he would have been writing satires when considerably over a hundred years of age. Moreover, he would have been from thirty to forty years older than Martial, who addresses him as his bosom friend; and who, in an epigram written to him about A.D. 104, supposes him to be wandering about the town, and even going up hills, but who makes no reference to his being a centenarian! There is then no doubt whatever that the Paris named is Domitian's Paris;* and the *histrio* named further on is a player who flourished much later, in the poet's old age. This would bring us to the reign of Hadrian. I see no difficulty in supposing (with Salmasius and Dodwell) what is here implied, that Hadrian banished Juvenal for satirising an actor, who was at the same time one of the royal favourites.† An action of this kind would have been quite in Hadrian's way, who banished (and afterwards put to death) Apollodorus, the celebrated architect, owing to a sarcastic expression of the latter. Whether the banish-

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* In a slightly altered form of the Suetonian biography, it is so stated. *Satira non absurde in Paridem Domitiani pantomimum . . . . composita* (Jahn, Lives, No. 2).

† Of course, under the name of *Paris*. *Paris* seems to have been a regular theatrical name. Besides the two players in the text, there was a third Paris, a favourite of Lucius Verus. "*Histriones eduxit e Syria,*

ment is to be accepted as a historical fact, is quite another question. The legend (if legend it be) seems to have been received as history in the fifth century.* It may be remarked of the series of Lives of which this forms one, that they give us, in many cases (*e.g.*, in that of Persius), information which bears the appearance of being genuine, and collected near the times of which they treat. On this subject pages might be written, indeed, have been written, with very little profit. All that can be said is, that the statement as it stands in the text is *not* "impossible." To accept the story of the exile, and then to transpose it to some other period of Juvenal's life, as some commentators have done, is merely building in the clouds.

The only other portions of the Life which merit attention are that in which the author speaks of Juvenal having practised declamation, and the sort of intimation which he gives of the poet's habit of retouching his satires, and inserting in those of later date passages composed at an earlier period. These statements receive some confirmation from an examination of the Satires themselves, and are valuable chiefly as showing the early tradition on the subject. To this may perhaps be added the notice of the poet's easy circumstances, and of his reluctance, for a long while, to give his works to the public. The former statement is supported by Satire

quorum praecipuus fuit Maximinus quem Paridis nomine nuncupavit."—Capitolin. L. Verus, viii., and others besides; *cf.* Friedländer's "Manners of the Romans," vol. ii. p. 322, French ed. It is not at all unlikely, then, that there may have been a favourite actor named Paris in Hadrian's time, though it is not necessary to suppose this.

N.B.—The insertion in Satire VII. must be from 88–92, not merely the lines 90–92; this results from this Life itself. The *poeta semenstribus militiolis tumens* is referred to in 88, 89; and 93 follows naturally on 87.

* There can be small doubt that Sidonius Appollinaris refers to Juvenal in the lines, where, after mentioning the banishment of Ovid, he adds—

"*Nec qui consimili deinde casu*
Ad vulgi tenuem strepentis aurem
Irati fuit histrionis exsul."—*Carm.* ix. 270.

XI., if indeed that satire did not suggest it; of the latter we may say that it wears an appearance of probability, and that a perusal of the poet's work will satisfy any one that it represents a true tradition. If, for example, Satire II. was composed in Domitian's reign, it is next to impossible that it should have been given to the world till after the tyrant's death.

When we turn from these Lives to the evidence furnished by the only contemporary who mentions our poet, we get upon somewhat firmer ground, but we do not add much to our knowledge. There is a Juvenal twice directly addressed, and once referred to, by Martial, and it seems almost certain that he is Juvenal the poet. On sending him a small present, Martial addresses him as *facunde Juvenalis*, vii. 91; and it has been inferred, from the use of this epithet, either that some other man is meant, a rhetorician or a declaimer probably, and not a poet, *or* that Martial was unacquainted with the poetical writings of his friend. But those who have made this observation have not taken notice of the fact that *facundus* is precisely the epithet which Martial constantly applies to poets—to Virgil, xiv. 185; Propertius, xiv. 189; Stella, xii. 3; Catullus, the writer for the stage, v. 30; to poetry itself, xii. 43, *facundos versus.* At any rate, whether Juvenal be here referred to as a poet or as a declaimer, the epithet is generally applied by Martial to a person of some reputation—Cicero, Seneca, Pliny the younger, Nerva, &c. There was therefore a friend of Martial's—a very intimate friend, vii. 24—named Juvenal, whom he addresses as an eloquent man living in Rome in A.D. 93 (the date of the seventh book), and he was still alive, or supposed by the writer to be alive, between the years A.D. 100 and 104, when his name figures again, xii. 18. In this epigram, written in Spain, he is represented as wandering restlessly about the town, and tiring himself with his attendance upon great people. A great

deal of comment has been made upon this epigram, and the word *inquietus* has been held to imply that he was "in uneasy circumstances." To me, it conveys rather that uneasy and suspicious character which his writings would show him to have been possessed of, and about which his friend Martial gently rallies him. After all, the epigram amounts to little more than this, expressed in prose—"While you, perhaps, are engaged in the worrying pursuits of the town, I am enjoying the ease of the country."

All, then, that can be gathered with certainty from external sources is, that there was a Juvenal (in all probability the poet), the friend of Martial, and who was residing in Rome in the year 93, and some time between 100 and 104.

We are now forced to turn to the only source from which we shall derive the slightest profit, the Satires themselves.

Juvenal was most certainly alive after Domitian had perished in A.D. 96, for he speaks of the death of that Emperor, iv. 153; and after the conviction of Marius Priscus, which we know to have taken place in A.D. 100—*cf.* i. 47. There is no reliable evidence that he survived the latter date by many years, but there is some reason to suppose that he was writing as late as A.D. 119—xiii. 17, xv. 27. The second satire seems to have been written during the reign of Domitian, ii. 160, &c., and the fourth not long after his assassination. It has been inferred from xiv. 90, and vi. 502, 555, that those two satires cannot have been written later than in Hadrian's reign, while xii. line 75 could not have been written before Trajan's time. There are other passages noticed in the notes, but the conclusions to which they point are all similar. Juvenal may be described as a poet who lived towards the end of the first and the beginning of the second century after Christ, the contemporary of Quintilian, Statius, Martial, Silius, Valerius

Flaccus, Suetonius, Tacitus, and the younger Pliny. We have seen that he is styled *facundus* in A.D. 93 by a poet who was intimate with him, and who was himself born in A.D. 43, and we have traces of him writing after A.D. 119. It may then fairly be conjectured that he was born *about* A.D. 50, and that he died some time *about* A.D. 120.* And no nearer approximation than this can be made to his epoch.

He seems to have received a liberal education, i. 15; to have been in easy circumstances, at any rate at one period of his life, xi.; and to have had a property near Tibur, xi. 65. He was, for some reason or other, attached to Aquinum, an important town in Latium, where he was in the habit of going for change of air from Rome; it may have been his birthplace, iii. 319. He was certainly not born of a noble family, but in the ranks of the people, viii. 44, &c. The greater number of his Satires appear to have been written in Rome, of which city it is probable that he was a permanent inhabitant, iii. 319 above; though he may at some time of his life have been in Egypt, xv. 45; and there are several passages in the Satires which, in conjunction with the whole of xii., would render it not improbable that he had made a long voyage by sea, for which element he had all a Roman's horror. (Compare some touches in Hippia's voyage, vi. 90 *sqq.*, xiv. 272 *sqq.*) It may be inferred from what he says, xi. 201–203, that he attained to old age.

His writings, if they are to be taken as the real expression of his feelings, exhibit him to us as a patriot of a rather narrow type, iii. 84, 85, vi. 294 *sqq.*, with a

* Of course, I mean, as far as the evidence from his writings goes. If the "Life" be accepted, we shall have him born *about* A.D. 43 (of the same age as Martial), beginning to try his hand at satire about A.D. 83 (evidently not far from the date of the second satire, and about the time of Paris's great popularity), and banished about A.D. 123. There is nothing very improbable in these dates, which do not differ materially from those given in the text.

great contempt for foreigners, especially the Greeks, iii. 58 *sqq.*, vi. 184 *sqq.*, x. 174, &c., and Egyptians, i. 26, 130, iv. 24, xv., and Orientals generally, iii.—a great admirer of ancient times, xi.—an unbeliever in the mythology of his country, which he never omits an opportunity of ridiculing, i. 52–54, ii. 149 *sqq.*, iii. 264 *sqq.*, iv. 36, vi. 59 ,393, xiii. 38–52, 112–119—as well as in foreign superstitions, vi. 511 *sqq.*, xiv. 96–106, xv. 1 *sqq.*—with a strong dislike for driving, racing, and the circus, i. 59–61, viii. 146 *sqq.*, xi. 193 *sqq.*—well versed in the literature of his country, and a great admirer of Virgil, xi. 180–182, whom he constantly parodies and refers to, ii. 25, 99, 100, iii. 198, 199, v. 44, 45, &c., &c., and of Lucilius, i. 20, 154, 165. Many passages show him to have been well read in Cicero, Valerius Maximus, Seneca, and other Roman writers; while the resemblances to Martial are numerous, and, in some cases, cannot be accidental. He was a "good hater," and detested all tyrants, and more particularly Domitian and Nero. There are other passages in his works which will be suggestive to the reader of the character (real or affected) and tastes of their author, but to advert to them would be to enter upon a criticism of his productions, which it is not here my intention to undertake. The best short critical notice of them will be found in Professor Ramsay's article, "Juvenal," in the "Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography."* And with the Professor's judgment every reader of taste, as well as the editor who is not blinded by absurd admiration of his author (the common vice of editors), will, I think, be disposed to concur.

"There is perhaps yet another circumstance which we may admit without suspicion. We are told that he occu-

* To which must now be added that of the accomplished Professor Sellar, on the same subject, in the new edition of the "Encyclopædia Britannica."

pied himself for many years of his life in declaiming; and assuredly every page in his writings bears evidence to the accuracy of the assertion. Each piece is a finished rhetorical essay, energetic, glowing, and sonorous; the successive attacks upon vice are all planned with systematic skill; the arguments are marshalled in imposing array; they advance, supported by a heavy artillery of powerful and well-aimed illustrations, and, sweeping impetuously onward, carry by assault each position as in turn assailed. But although the impression produced at first is overwhelming, the results are not permanent. The different poems are too obviously formal works of art; and while the figures in each picture are selected with anxious care, grouped with all attention to effect, and rich with the most brilliant colouring, the composition, as a whole, is deficient in the graceful ease and reality which impart such a matchless charm to the less regular and less elaborate sketches of Horace. The means by which the two satirists seek to achieve their object are as widely different as the tempers and habits of the men. It is impossible to imagine a contrast more striking than is presented by the playful, good-humoured gaiety with which the one would laugh his hearers out of their follies and their guilt, and by the uncompromising sternness with which the other seeks to scare them, calling to his aid frightful images and terrific denunciations. In the one case, however, we are fully convinced of the absolute sincerity of our monitor; we feel that his precepts are the fruit of long experience, proceeding from one who, having mingled much with the world and encountered its perils, is filled with kindly sympathy for the difficulties and dangers of those whom he warns to avoid the rocks and shoals on which he had himself well-nigh been wrecked; while the stately, well-measured indignation of the other belongs to the eloquence of the head rather than of the heart, and the obvious tone of

exaggeration which pervades all his thundering invectives leaves us in doubt how far this sustained passion is real, and how far assumed for show. But while the austere and misanthropic gloom of Juvenal touches us less deeply than the warm-hearted, social spirit of his rival, we must not forget the difference of their position. Horace might look with admiration upon the high intellect of his prince, and the generous protection extended by him to literature; and he might feel grateful to the prudent firmness which had restored peace after long years of civil bloodshed, while a decent show of freedom was still left. But the lapse of half a century had wrought a fearful change. Galling to the proud spirit filled with recollections of ancestral glory must have been the chains with which the coarse tyranny of Nero and Domitian ostentatiously loaded their dependants; deep must have been the humiliation of the moralist who beheld the utter degradation and corruption of his countrymen: the canker was perchance too deeply seated for the keenest knife, but delicate and gentle palliatives would have been worse than mockery."

There is an observation which may perhaps be added to the above. In depicting character, in drawing scenes, even in turns of expression, Juvenal is, of all ancient authors (with the possible exception of Lucian), the most distinctly *modern*. His scenes are manipulated with a few broad touches, in which the salient points are always brought into the foreground; and it has been well observed that a painter of kindred genius would have small difficulty in transferring them to canvas. If we believed in the metempsychosis doctrine, we might almost suppose that the soul of Juvenal reappeared in Hogarth. The crowd hurrying to the *sportula* or "dole;" the club of male debauchees and their occupations; the streets of Rome by day and night; the court of Domitian, his worthless parasites and their trumpery subjects of

discussion; the poor dependant dining with the rich patron, and the insults he is exposed to; the senator's wife eloping with a gladiator; the interior of fashionable ladies' boudoirs, and the frivolous pursuits and superstitions of ladies of rank; the arts and shifts of starveling poets; the nobleman addicted to the turf and to night-houses; the gossip of the servants about their master's affairs; the aspect of the city on the fall of a great minister; a *tête-à-tête* supper of two friends: these and many other scenes of Roman life are brought before us with the vivid touches of a Defoe or a Swift. They are "sketches" in the modern sense; and I know of nothing exactly resembling them in any other ancient author. The modes of expression, again, the turns of thought, the humour, are often distinctly modern, and such as we should look for in the pages of Fielding or Thackeray. The upstart coming on in his litter, which is "filled up by himself;" the poor man who had nothing, it is true, "but who lost all that nothing" in the fire; the sycophant who, when his patron complains of the heat, immediately "sweats;" "the rustic infant in his mother's lap, gazing with horror at the frightful mask of the actor" when taken to the play; the chaff, as we style it, of the fast young Roman noble directed against the plebeian whom he is going to pummel, "Whose vinegar and beans are you distended with? What cobbler have you been supping off sheep's-head with, you beggar?"; the description of the fight, "if fight it may be called, where one man does the pummelling and the other man's part is limited to being pummelled;" the prayer of the poor wretch that he may be allowed to return home "with a *few* teeth left him"; the compliment of the fisherman on presenting an enormous turbot to Domitian. "Depend upon it, sire, the fish got himself caught on purpose!"; the mouse "conscious of virility" who scampers away from the sacred rites at which no *males* are ad-

mitted; the schoolmaster whose class proceeds to "destroy wicked tyrants," and whose head is made to ache by that "dreadful Hannibal"; Hannibal himself stalking across the Alps "in order to amuse schoolboys, and be turned into the theme for an exercise"; the exclamations of the Romans on hearing of the fall of Sejanus, "Believe me, there was something about that man which I never liked. What a repulsive countenance he had, to be sure!"; the picture of the old ex-Dictator, in the primitive times, trudging off with a spade over his shoulder to a supper party, where bacon and perhaps a trifle of fresh meat were to be the fare, "with a dash of haste" so as to be sure to be in time; the advice to the civilian in a dispute with soldiers never to commence an action, with only two legs to plead against a thousand hobnails; the dismissal of the wife whose charms have departed, "You are offensive; you use your pocket-handkerchief too often. A fresh wife is coming with a dry nose;" such turns of expression as "the fires, the falling in of roofs, the thousand perils of cruel Rome, last of all, *the poets reciting in the dog-days*"; or again, in a comparison of Orestes and Nero, "At any rate, Orestes did not murder his sister and his wife, he did not poison his relations, *he did not write rubbishy poems about Troy*"; the inquiry about the young woman who lived in the country, where she saw no one, and who was so very chaste, "Who can guarantee that nothing has taken place in mountain or cave? *Have Jupiter and Mars then got past work?*"; the remark about Horace, "Horace has had enough to eat when he cries out 'Euoe!'"; the description of the lady who is a perfect stranger to her husband, "except that she hates his friends and his servants, and makes him groan over her bills"—examples of this kind might be multiplied in support of my assertion that there is in Juvenal a humour quite distinct from the quaint humour of Plautus, and the broad farce of Petronius,

and the delicate banter of Horace, of which no example existed previous to his time in Roman literature, while modern literature furnishes much that is akin to it, though not distinctly imitated from it. There are many ancient writers, with regard to whom it is necessary for us to make a considerable mental effort, in order to throw ourselves back into the times in which they wrote, and to conceive the tone of thought which prevailed in their day. Juvenal, when the difficulties of another kind which mark his writings are surmounted, requires no such effort. In his way of looking at things, and especially the grotesque side of things, in his word-painting, in his illustrations, he is essentially a man of the present day. Accordingly he has often been imitated—by Boileau and Johnson for instance—while such writers as Aristophanes and Plautus are incapable of being modernised with any degree of success.

A short but important work on Juvenal has recently been published in Germany. It would be impossible for me in my limits to notice it adequately, but I cannot refrain from alluding to it. This is "Der echte und der unechte Juvenal" (the genuine and spurious Juvenal), by Ribbeck, who has edited our author. Viewed as a criticism of some portion of the poet's work, I think it valuable, though it is disfigured by gross exaggerations, and by a manifest straining in favour of a foregone conclusion, which, to my mind, Ribbeck altogether fails to establish.

The conclusion is this: that a considerable portion of what we accept as Juvenal's Satires is spurious. According to Ribbeck, the genuine ones are the first, second, third, fourth (with the exception of 1–36), fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth, eleventh (with the exception of 1–55), and possibly the sixteenth. The supposititious ones are the tenth, twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth, fifteenth, to which must be added the introductions to Satires IV. and

XI. just mentioned. The learned critic bases his view upon the great dissimilarity existing between the two portions, thus separated, of what passes for Juvenal.

There can be no doubt, and the reader of taste will have no difficulty in perceiving, that there *is* a wide contrast between them. The former portion comprises satires dealing with society in the Roman capital, the men, the vices, the follies of the day, and furnishes us with a rich storehouse of information on the manners of the period. From the latter we learn next to nothing. They are a series of sometimes brilliant, but often turgid, rhetorical essays in verse on themes common to the declaiming schools, introducing us at every page to historical and mythological personages, Alexander, Hannibal, Priam, the gods and goddesses, but telling us nothing of contemporary life, and dealing with vice and folly in a vague, general way, such as might suit any epoch. The writer often exhibits the worst possible taste, at times dinning the same sentiment into our ears, to use Ribbeck's expression, "with maddening persistency," at others contradicting what he has said just before; here using an inapt illustration, there spinning one out to an inordinate length. All this, and a great deal more, Ribbeck has brought out with great force, though with much exaggeration, and his criticism in a modified form must be admitted; but to jump to the conclusion that the disputed satires are the result of an imposture concocted between "a speculating bookseller and a hungry poet of low order," to palm upon the public a lot of spurious work after the poet's death, appears to me to be drawing an inference as unwarranted as any with which I am acquainted in the whole history of literary criticism.

In the first place, it is only a truism to remark that the same man will write very differently, and exhibit very different taste, at different times. We know that

"Paradise Regained" (a poem which, I should suppose, few persons have ever read through) was actually preferred by its author to "Paradise Lost." If we could suppose no positive proof of its authorship to be in existence fifteen centuries hence, it would be easy, on Ribbeck's method, to show that it was a feeble imitation of the great Milton's style. There is a much wider gulf between the best comedies of Molière and some of his farces, than between the "true and false Juvenal," a point noticed by his own contemporaries—

> "Dans ce sac ridicule où Scapin s'enveloppe
> Je ne reconnois plus l'auteur du 'Misanthrope.'"

The Abbé Prévost was a voluminous writer of novels which no one has ever heard of; yet he produced one work destined to last as long as the language in which it was written. What would a future critic make of "A Tale of Two Cities," or "Our Mutual Friend," put into his hands as the productions of the author of "Pickwick" and "Nicholas Nickleby"? or if, after editing "Ten Thousand a Year," he were called upon to confront "The Lily and the Bee"? The inferiority, then, of some of the satires is no reason for rejecting them; nor, again, is difference in style. Writers vary immensely in their style of treatment, according to the subject which they undertake. There is no difficulty in supposing that Juvenal might at one time choose to treat of Roman women in reference to the vices he saw around him, and at another time might choose to treat of the vanity of human wishes in a general way, and that his modes of handling these two subjects should vary greatly; and, we may add, that he should be less happy in one style than in the other. There is the same difference observable—though some may think not a difference in point of merit—between "Childe Harold" and "Don Juan." Or, to take a more apposite illustra-

tion, Lord Lytton has written a very clever satire on living men called "St. Stephens'," from which posterity might learn a good deal, and he has also plunged into mythology and epic poetry in the shape of "King Arthur," from which posterity can learn nothing, of our manners; and with regard to these two works, without giving an opinion on their respective merits, I think that the future critic might find it a hard matter to discover the same hand in both of them; or, rather, by following the method we are considering, he would find it an easy matter to show that they were the work of different hands.

In the next place, if these so-called spurious satires be imitations, they are very singular ones, for they fail to imitate. (I except the prologues to Satires IV. and XI., which I can just conceive it possible *might* have been put together by some one, with this intention.) One would imagine that any one having this object in view would have selected subjects resembling those of the "genuine" satires, and tried to treat them in the same fashion. But there is scarcely anything of the kind discernible. There is, indeed, one long passage in Satire VIII. 231–268, which is written in precisely the same key as the whole of Satire X., and which I, at least, am quite satisfied is from the same hand as the latter (not to speak of some passages in XI.) Whether the "poet of low order" confined his imitation to one or two exceptional passages of this sort, or whether the author who could indulge, when the occasion seemed to require, in a burst of declamation like the thirty-eight lines in Satire VIII., might not have similarly produced, when treating of congenial themes, the declamations known as Satires X., XIII., XIV., &c., is the point for consideration. To me the latter alternative is immensely the more probable of the two. If conjecture were of the slightest avail, I should conjec ture that the "declamations" (all perhaps but the fifteenth

satire) were the earlier works of the poet, and that they were touched up and added to, and published along with his Satires, when he had become famous through the latter. Ribbeck objects that a man of Juvenal's taste would never have exhumed these early productions. Why not? Authors are not uncommonly extremely partial to their earliest works. Juvenal may not have thought Satire X., &c., to be such dreadful rubbish as Ribbeck considers them. He may have thought them worth preserving, whatever their faults might be; and the world has been for nearly eighteen centuries, and is now, of the same opinion.

And whatever these faults may be, I think it might be conclusively shown that germs of them, or it may be traces of them, or at any rate cognate faults, may be found in the "genuine" satires. Some references to these will be found in the notes, as well as occasional remarks upon Ribbeck's detailed criticisms. There is one more observation to be made before parting with him, and that concerns the beauties of the disputed satires; for there are such, though he denies the fact, and is, indeed, never tired of pounding the unhappy "declamator." We are to suppose that a Grub Street poet was got hold of by an enterprising publisher, and paid for writing these satires. This man was able to compose such a passage as that relating to Sejanus, x. 65–102; the passages, rhetorical indeed, but in which certainly the *disjecti membra poetae* are to be found, on Hannibal and Alexander, x. 147–172; the account of old age and its miseries, 188 *sqq.*; the lines, xiv. 59–85; the passage, one of the sublimest in the whole range of poetry, xv. 131–174. He has interspersed these and other splendid passages with lines which have become "familiar as household words," "jewels which on the outstretched finger of all time sparkle for ever:" *Evertere domos totas optantibus ipsis Di faciles—Cantabit vacuus coram latrone viator—Qui nolunt occidere*

quemquam Posse volunt—Expende Hannibalem quot libras in duce summo Invenies, &c., &c.

What became of this man? He was able to write poetry which imposed upon his contemporaries as that of a great genius (in some respects the greatest satirical genius the world has ever seen) just deceased; and his imposture has lasted for eighteen centuries. Whatever his faults may have been, he was certainly—Juvenal being dead—the greatest Roman poet of his day. We should have thought that, especially after this successful attempt, we should have had something from him under his own name. Nothing of the kind. There was living in Rome at the beginning of the second century a man capable of writing verses which should be a heritage for all time; we get, so to speak, a momentary glimpse of him composing these verses (destined to live for ever, and in parts to delight for ever) under a false name, in combination with a dishonest bookseller. He never wrote anything more, or, if he did, it has never come down to us. After this unparalleled achievement, he sinks back into the darkness from which he has emerged. Either this difficulty must be faced, or the alternative must be adopted of accepting Ribbeck's view of the "spurious" satires—that they are "a collection of school trash;" the work of "a shallow babbler, an impostor, who thinks like a soap-boiler, not even capable of seizing and fashioning one single true thought." In that case, of course, there would have been as many poetasters in Rome capable of furnishing them to order as there are persons in London prepared to write for Messrs. Moses & Son. Our surprise will be transferred to the Romans, who could be so easily deceived; but it will be a surprise unmixed with contempt for their want of taste and acumen, since we, too, have shared in the delusion.

INTRODUCTION TO SATIRE I.

In this satire, which is a kind of preface to the others, the poet explains why he has taken up his pen. So many poetasters are declaiming their rubbish on all sides, that he is determined to retaliate. The line which he has chosen is that of satire, after the manner of Lucilius. To justify his choice of this kind of composition, he portrays, in a series of graphic pictures, some of the abuses and abominations which existed at Rome in his day, and which, *mutatis mutandis*, are always to be met with in every great city. Women ape the pursuits of men; upstarts sprung from the dregs of the people, pettifogging lawyers and informers, have risen to wealth and a high position; fortune-hunters pander to the lusts of rich old harridans; plunderers of provinces, though sent into exile, retain the spoil and laugh at their sentence; men sell their wives; others ruin themselves in horseflesh; scoundrels obtain riches by forging wills; women poison their husbands; gambling is carried on to a fearful extent; the *sportula*, or dole distributed by the wealthy Romans to their clients, is grossly abused; rich men squander their fortunes on dinners which they ask no one to share, and their poor retainers are neglected: in short, every vice has reached its climax.

But who would venture to write satires at such a time as this, even supposing he had the genius necessary for the task, with a crowd of informers on all sides of him? It is a very different thing to write about Aeneas and Achilles and Hylas, and other legendary characters, and to attack living people. "Well, then," says the poet, "I will confine myself to those who are dead, and see what I can do in the way of showing

them up." Or—as we should say—I won't introduce the names of living persons into my satires.

All that can be said with regard to the date of this Satire is, that, in its present form, it must have been given to the world later than A.D. 100, because the condemnation of Marius (ls. 47 *sqq.*) took place in that year. But I should imagine that the bulk of it was written before that period, and the lines about Marius (perhaps ls. 45–50) inserted afterwards as additional illustrations. The very style of Juvenal, in which the *limae labor* is distinctly perceptible, would lead me to suppose that the satires were frequently retouched, altered, and added to, from time to time; and the expression in Suetonius' Life (see "Introduction"), which, at any rate, exhibits the early tradition on the subject, points in the same direction. The repeated introduction of "informers" and "accusers," such as those indicated under the names *Carus, Massa,* &c., seems to me to suit rather the age of Domitian than that of Nerva and Trajan—a point which has not received the attention which it deserves from commentators, who have assigned the whole of this Satire to a date later than A.D. 100. Nothing is more certain than that Trajan, at his accession to power, banished the leading *delatores*, and put an end to their trade. Pliny's Panegyricus is full of passages to this effect, xxxiv. 1, 5; xxxv. 1, 2; xli. 1. It is true that both Massa and Carus are mentioned by Martial in his twelfth book, published about A.D. 104; but the former is spoken of as a personage of the past, Ep. 29; and with regard to Carus, I have small doubt that this is "one of the pieces belonging to earlier years which were included in his later books," a practice of Martial's, of which we have other evidence; see Professor Ramsay's article on Martial in Dict. Gr. and Rom. Biography. Juvenal, we may be sure, would not introduce the abuse of informers into a satire composed when they had ceased to exist; a republication of it, with additions, would be quite another affair.

Compare also ls. 152, 153, with Tacitus' remark: *rara temporum felicitate ubi sentire quae velis* et quae sentias dicere *licet* (Hist. i. 1).

I should be inclined, therefore, to think that the Satire was originally written in the reign of the tyrant, and published (when it had become safe to do so), with additions, in that of Trajan.

If the barber mentioned at l. 25 be the *tonsor tota notissimus urbe* of Martial, Cinnamus (vii. 64), we should have another slight indication to the same effect; for Cinnamus, after his great rise, had fallen before A.D. 93, the date of Martial's seventh book. It is true that the same line occurs at x. 226, and this (to me) would serve to confirm the conjecture that Satire X., in its main lines, is a comparatively early rhetorical effusion of the poet.

NOTES TO SATIRE I.

1: The Roman authors, and more particularly the poets, were in the habit of reciting their new productions, sometimes in private, and then not unfrequently at dinner-parties, Mart. iii 45, xi 52; at other times, in temples and other public places, Hor. Sat. i 10 38; or in houses hired or lent by rich patrons for the purpose, Juv. vii 40; the day being fixed in advance, Juv. vii 83 84; and circular letters of invitation being sent out, Plin. Epp. iii 18. These recitations were generally held previous to publication, Plin. Epp. ii 10 v 3 v 12 &c., and the reciter *sat*, Plin. Epp. ii 19 Pers. i 17. The younger Pliny greatly approves of the practice, and speaks in Epp. i 13 of the town being full of poets, and scarcely a day in one whole month passing without recitations. Our tastes, in the present age, will incline us to side with Juvenal. *reponam* may be either the future or the subjunctive; at 51 52 below, the subjunctive is used in a precisely similar interrogation. *reponere* is, literally, "to repay," and the metaphor is taken from the payment of debts: *Quos continuo tibi reponam in hoc triduo aut quatridio*, Plaut. Pers. i 1 39. Pliny the younger says of one of these recitations, *Possum jam repetere secessum et scribere aliquid quod non recitem, ne videar, quorum recitationibus affui, non auditor fuisse, sed creditor*, Epp. i 13. **2**: *vexatus*, the past participle has here, as often, the sense of "though." *Vicinos humiles rapere et concidere loris Exorata solet*, vi 414 415, "though entreated." Phaedrus speaks of *molesti poetae*, and Ovid of *vesanus poeta*, in reference to this practice of reciting, which, I believe, still lingers in Italy. *toties* an allusion to recitations "in parts;" cf. vii 32 *sqq*. *rauci*, "hoarse from reciting." *Praelegat ut tumidus rauca te voce magister*, Mart. viii 3 15; *Rausuro tragicus qui carmina perdit Oreste*, in the fragments of Lucilius xix 9, which seems to be imitated here. *Codri*, another reading is *Cordi;* a Codrus is mentioned in iii 203 208. It is probably here only

a fictitious name for a bad poet, and the *Theseide* is a bad epic poem, which he is supposed to have written on the subject of Theseus. The word is formed as *Aeneis*, *Achilleis*, etc. Pedo Albinovanus had written a poem on this subject. **3**: *impune.* Horace has, *Obturem patulas impune legentibus aures*, Epp. ii 2 105. *recitaverit.* Heinrich reads *cantaverit*, but there is only one MS. to favour it. *Cantare* is often used of what is continually being dinned into the ears; *eadem cantabit versibus isdem*, vii 153; *Harum mores cantabat mihi*, Ter. Heaut. Tim. ii 3 19; *Cantilenam eandem canis*, Phorm. iii 2 11; cf. Juv. x 178, and note to vii 152 153. *togatas*, usually of comedies on Roman subjects, as opposed to *palliatae*, which were comedies on Greek subjects. So *praetextae* of tragedies on Roman subjects, as opposed to *crepidatae: vestigia Graeca Ausi deserere et celebrare domestica facta Vel qui praetextas, vel qui docuere togatas*, Hor. A. P. 287 288; Quintilian says of Africanus, *togatis excellit*; cf. Wordsworth, "Fragments and Specimens of Early Latin," p. 597. **4**: *diem consumpserit. Auditur toto saepe poeta die*, Mart. xi 70 10; *Cum indignaretur quidam illum tota die recitasse*, Sen. Epp. 122. The younger Pliny, in the epistle above quoted, i 13, might almost seem to have had Juvenal in his eye when he rebukes the man who does not appreciate these recitations: *Aut non venit; aut, si venit, queritur se diem, quia non perdiderit, perdidisse.* The same writer speaks of a recitation of his own, which lasted three whole days, but this, it is true, was in praise of the Emperor; cf. Plin. Epp. iii 18. *ingens*, "vast in bulk," *i.e.*, the book. Martial, xiv 190, speaks of *Livius ingens*, "voluminous Livy;" but both there and here there may be a double sense in *ingens*, applying both to the person and the work; cf. Juv. x 62, *ingens Sejanus. Ingens* seems to have been a regular epithet for heroes, Virg. Æn. iv 413, xi 396, xii 441, etc. **5**: *Telephus*, son of Hercules and Auge, mortally wounded by the spear of Achilles, and restored by the rust of the same weapon, seems to have been, from the earliest times, a favourite theme for poets,—Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Agathon among the Greeks, and Ennius and Accius among the Romans, wrote plays bearing the title "Telephus," none of which have come down to us; the name

is used as a synonym for a hackneyed subject, cf. Hor. A. P. 96. These mythological stories formed almost the only available themes for the Roman epic poets, though they bantered each other on the hackneyed use made of them :—*Cui non dictus Hylas puer?* etc., Virg. Georg. iii 3. *Quis non Nioben numeroso funere maestam Jam cecinit, quis non Semelen?* etc. Nemesian Cyneg, 15. Compare Mart. xi 52 17. It may be added that in Domitian's reign it would scarcely have been safe for them to write of anything else, cf. i 162 sqq. *summi* is here used for *extremi*, as in Martial iv 91 4, *Nec summa potes in scheda teneri;* so *summi anni, summa senectus,* &c. **6** : *et in tergo.* On the form of Roman books, cf. Smith's Dict. Ant., article "Liber." It was customary to write only on one side of the parchment. Martial, addressing his book, says, *Inversa pueris arande charta,* iv 87; and again, *Scribit in inversa Picens epigrammata charta Et dolet averso quod facit illa Deo,* viii 62. Parchments written on the back were called *opistographi.* Pliny the younger says of his uncle, *Commentarios centum saxaginta mihi reliquit opistographos quidem et minutissime scriptos,* Epp. iii 5. *finitus Orestes.* Zumpt (Lat. Gramm. ch. vi § 39) remarks upon this, that in earlier Latin the names of dramatic compositions are feminine, *fabula* being understood. Haec *Truculentus* (*Plauti*), *Eunuchus* (*Terentii*) *acta est.*

7 : *nota magis nulli domus est sua.* Heinrich sees in this an imitation of Cicero, Epp. i 16 ad Quint. Frat., *Quamquam illud existimo cum jam tibi Asia sicut unicuique sua domus nota esse debeat,* and cf. Cic. in Cn. Planc. 40, Cic. ad Att. vi 1. I should imagine the expression must have been a proverbial one. The same idea occurs in Herodot. viii 35, and, no doubt, elsewhere. **7, 8** : *locus Martis.* Mars had many groves; any one will do here. **8, 9** : Virgil, Aen. viii 417 sqq., places the workshop of Vulcan in one of the Lipari Islands, and the abode of Aeolus, the wind-god, in another, Aen. i 52; they were consequently neighbours. In Homer, Vulcan's workshop is placed in Olympus, Il. xviii 369; but the poets to whom Juvenal is alluding would naturally follow Virgil. **9** : *quid agant venti,* "what the winds are doing." Heinrich reads *Venti,* and thinks the winds are personified. Juvenal may have had in his mind some recollection of Virgil, Aen. i 81 sqq., and i

131–141. *agere* does not necessarily imply any violent action: *Interroganti quid ageret puer, respondebat, bene quievit*, Plin. Epp. iii 16; *Quid agit Comum?* id. i 3. *Quid agis?* "How do you do?" common. **10**: *Aeacus.* Καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας Ῥαδάμανθυς κρινεῖ, τοὺς δὲ ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης Αἰακός, Μίνῳ δὲ πρεσβεῖα δώσω ἐπιδιακρίνειν ἐὰν ἀπορῆτόν τι τὼ ἑτέρω, Plato, Gorg. Others distribute the work between the three judges differently. *alius*, sc. Jason. Compare x 257. *Atque alius* (sc. *Laertes*) *cui fas Ithacum lugere natantem.* *furt. aur. pell.* compare, for this construction, vi 483. *latum pictae vestis considerat aurum.* **11**: *pelliculae.* Macleane says there is no diminutive force in this word; but I think there is, the tone of the whole passage being comic; literally "the gold of the little skin;" cf. Mart. iii 16 6. There may be an intention to ridicule the excessive use of diminutives by some poet or poets; cf. Wordsworth, "Fragments and Specimens of Early Latin," p. 644. *Monychus*, one of the centaurs. Heinrich thinks that the whole of this passage, 8–11, is a parody on Valerius Flaccus, the contemporary of Juvenal, and the author of the "Argonautica." Certainly there are some passages in V. Flaccus which bear out this view, while *unde alius* (*Jason*) *furtivae devehat aurum Pelliculae*, applies to his whole subject. Compare Val. Fl. i 575 sqq. *Boreas . . . Continuo Aeoliam Tyrrhenaque tendit ad antra . . . Stat rupes horrenda fretis . . . Nec scopulos aut antra minor juxta altera tellus Cernitur . . . Has nimbi ventique domos*, &c.; and again, *haec antra videtis, Vulcanique, ait, esse domos*, ii 335, etc., which may be alluded to; while i 608 sqq. (which is itself an imitation of Virg. Aen. i 82 sqq.) may be referred to in *quid agant venti.* (If Lucan had been more nearly contemporary with our author, we might have supposed him to have had also in his eye 597, sqq. of Phars. v.) But the other instances of parody cited by Heinrich are, I think, fanciful. It is not very likely that all Juvenal's illustrations would be taken from one author, whose works had been given to the public some thirty years, and who had himself been dead some ten years before this Satire appeared, at any rate, in its present form—and that, a very distinguished one, praised by Quintilian, the first critic of the age, and often imitated by Juvenal's favourite, Statius; and it ought to be shown that

something closely corresponding to *quantas jaculetur Monychus ornos*, or *quas torqueat umbras Aeacus* or a spun-out or exaggerated description of the grove of Mars, are to be found in Val. Fl.; but there is nothing of the kind. **12**: *Frontonis.* This is most likely a name, like that of Codrus above, applied to no one in particular. There were several persons of distinction so called, one of whom is mentioned by Martial, i 56, as *Clarum militiae Fronto togaeque decus*, and who is supposed to be identical with the one who was consul in the year of Domitian's death. Dion. Cass. lxviii 1; Plin. Epp. ii 11 &c. The man mentioned by Pliny seems to have been an orator of considerable repute, and, like Pliny himself, may have taken a strange delight in "recitations." The tutor to M. Aurelius cannot be meant. *platani.* The plane-tree was a great favourite with the Romans; Mart. iii 19 and iii 58, where it is called *vidua*, its dense foliage rendering it impossible to train the vine round it, as was the case with the elm, poplar, &c.; and so *platanus coelebs*, Hor. Od. ii 15 4. Pliny the younger speaks of πλατανῶν *opacissimus*, as among the greatest charms of a villa, i 3. *marmora*, Mr. Evans translates "statues," but this is not the meaning. Pliny, H. N. xxxvi 6, tells us that marble was let into the walls, and he adds, with indignation, that it had even come to be used for pavements. Compare Juv. vi 430, *Marmoribus rivi properant, i.e.*, "on the marble floors;" and Ovid, Med. Fac. 8, *Nigra sub imposito marmore terra latet.* At iii 215, when a rich man's house has been burnt down, among the presents offered him for his new house is marble: *accurrit qui marmora donet.* Compare iv 112, ix 104, xiv 89 90. Pliny the younger writes to his architect, *Emas marmora quibus solum, quibus parietis excolantur* (this was for a temple), Epp. ix 39; Seneca, Epp. 86 and 115, *parietes tenui marmore inductos.* The marble was affixed to the brickwork by hooks. Burn. "Rome and the Campagna," p. 200. *clamant marmora* is like *humero revocante*, 27. *cupient (ista) in acta referri*, ii 136. *probitas alget*, i 74. *lectica petit*, i 121. *tremere* and *mordere* of hunger, v 10 11. See on vi 657–659. **12, 13**: *semper et assiduo*, probably a verbal reminiscence (it is no more), of Pers. iv 17 18, where the same words occur in exactly the same way, *semper* referring

to the line above. *convulsa, ruptae* are, according to Grangaeus, medical terms. The words occur together in a passage of Pliny's Nat. Hist. (quoted by Forcell.), where *convulsa ruptaque* are said to be cured by a certain plant. *convulsa* is not easily translatable. It seems to mean "made to shake violently;" rather a forced image, and an early example of the poet's tendency to exaggeration. Servius quotes line 13 on Virgil, Georg. iii 328, *Et cantu querulae rumpent arbusta cicadae.* Otherwise, one would think it would have been better left out. At vii 86 we have of a poet (Statius), *fregit subsellia versu. assiduo lectore* may be taken as "by the assiduity, persistency, of the reader," i 163 note; but this gives a feebler sense, and is quite unnecessary. It is the "ablativus instrumenti." **14**: this verse is rejected by some critics (such as Ribbeck), as is almost every verse in Juvenal which stands by itself, and contains what is called an *apophthegm*; (*γνῶμαι*) see note to v 140, as, for instance, v 66, 140, &c. They are supposed to be monkish glosses. To me, on the contrary, they appear to be very much in Juvenal's manner. Observe the numerous cases where these apophthegms or *sententiae generales* do not consist of a single line, and cannot be thus detached, i 73 74, vii 145, viii 73 74, ix 18 19. At any rate, having got them in the MSS., we must make the best of them; and it is not a sufficient reason for rejecting a verse, that it appears to us a feeble one. Here certainly the line is neither forcible in itself, nor does it help to make the passage more intelligible. The author objects then, it seems, not to the bad poetry, but to the choice of mythical themes by poets great as well as small. Yet he elsewhere, vii 82 sqq., is enthusiastic on the subject of the recitations of Statius's Thebaid. A verse very like this one occurs at vi 349, where Ribbeck rejects it; but all the MSS. have it, and it seems to be wanted. **15**: *ergo*, "I too, I can tell you," "I too, I say." *nos*, poetically for *ego;* constantly so used in Latin, as in English: *nostra infantia*, iii 84; *Haeremus*, vi 281, ix 31 86 &c. *ferulae. Ferulae tristes sceptra paedagorum*, Mart. x 62 10; *Invisae nimium pueris grataeque magistris*, id. xiv 80. The Roman schoolmaster seems not to have spared the rod. Horace speaks of *plagosus Orbilius*, Epp. ii 1 70. *multum puer et lores et funibus udis Exhortatus*,

Sat. i 10; *Ut subeant tenerae (puerorum) verbera saeva manus*, Ov. Am. i 13 18; id. A. A. i 15 16. Cf. Capitol. Gord. Jun. 18. Vopisc. Tacit. 6. The meaning is, "I, too, have been to school, and have written themes." This line is referred to by Macr. Sat. iii 10, also by Sidonius Apollinaris and Hieronym.; cf. Lud. Jan. on Macr. who thinks Juvenal had in view a saying of Timocles ap. Athen. lib. 13 p. 571, πληγὰς λαβεῖν ἁπαλαῖσι χερσὶν ἡδύγε, but this is scarcely probable. **15, 16**: the ambition of Sulla would be a likely theme to set to schoolboys. *Neque enim ignoro plerumque exercitationis gratia poni et poeticas et historicas, ut Priami verba apud Achillem, aut Sullae dictaturam deponentis in concione*, Quint. Inst. iii 8; and again, *Ciceroni dabimus consilium, ut Antonium roget, vel Philippicas exurat*, Inst. iii 8, cf. Pers. iii 45. **18**: *perdite Niliacas musae mea damna papyros*, Mart. xiii 1. For this sense of *pereo*, "to be wasted," "to be thrown away," which is frequent in Juvenal, compare iii 124, iv 56, vii 174 222 225, xi 192; *Scripta nostra . . . quae vix ab otiosis impetrare aliquid perituri temporis possunt*, Plin. Epp. vii 2; iii 5. *Tot noctes periere: nihil pudet?* Propert. ii 21 5. Ausonius uses it in precisely the same sense, of the same substance, paper, *Si tineas cariemque pati te charta necesse est Incipe versiculis ante perire meis*, Ep. 34; Mart. i 46. The future participle in *rus* may often be rendered by the English "which is sure to," "which is certain to:" *Eo plus formidinis afferebant falsae virtutes et vitia reditura*, Tac. Hist. i 71, "His vices which were sure to reappear;" *se Excusaturos non sollicitemus amicos*, Juv. xvi 28, "Who are sure to excuse themselves," Sen. de Ira i 1. **19**: *campo*, for the use of the word in the sense of a field for the display of one's powers, cf. Cic. de Orat. iii 31 and pro Mur. 8, with Long's note. **20**: *magnus Auruncae alumnus* is Lucilius (who is again alluded to in 154, and mentioned at 165), a native of Suessa Aurunca, in Campania. One of the old scholiasts, however, makes it refer to Turnus, a tragic and satirical poet, also born at Aurunca. That he was by no means obscure, may be gathered from Martial, who speaks of *Turni nobilibus libellis*, vii 97 8; and again, *Contulit ad satiras ingentia pectora Turnus*, xi 10; and Rutil., in his Itiner., couples him and Juvenal together, *Hujus vulnificis, satira ludente,*

Camenis Nec Turnus potior nec Juvenalis erit. The metaphor is taken from a race-course, and is common in the poets, *Nunc teritur nostris area major equis,* Ov. &c., "If you will kindly hear why I have chosen the same ground as Lucilius to contend upon (*i.e.*, satire), I will tell you." Some take *placidi* as the genitive, instead of the nominative plural, in the sense, "If you will listen to one who is perfectly calm;" but this is not so good. The poet is not perfectly calm. He tells us, a few lines on, 30 31, that he cannot contain himself. It is the same sort of expression as *facilem si praebeat aurem,* v 107, *da mihi te placidum* of Ovid, Fast. i 17 &c.

22: compare vi 336 sqq. Martial, addressing Domitian, who forbade the castration of males, says, *Nec spado jam nec moechus erit, te praeside quisquam. At prius (O mores!) et spado moechus erat,* vi 2. For the contempt with which the Romans regarded eunuchs, cf. Hor. Epod. 9 11; *Romanus—spadonibus servire rugosis potest. Spadones oblurídi distortaque lineamentorum compage deformes,* Amm. Marc. xiv 6. *tener* has the sense of "effeminate." Cicero calls Cyprus *tenera insula.* Roman ladies sometimes married eunuchs with the view of not having families, and the practice is inveighed against by the Christian fathers: but the allusion here seems rather to be to wealthy eunuchs taking to themselves wives for the sake of show. *Mevia,* a name like *Codrus,* no one in particular. Some read *Naevia,* and there is a *Naevia* frequently mentioned by Martial, i 69 and 72, &c.; but it is impossible to connect the two names. On women descending into the arena, cf. Mart. de Spect. 6, *Saevit et ipsa Venus,* and in the same epigram, *nam post tua munera Caesar Haec jam feminea vidimus acta manu.* Cf. Stat. Silv. i 6 53, *Stat sexus rudis, insciusque ferri, Et pugnas capit improbus viriles.* Suetonius speaks of Domitian setting women to fight in public, Domit. 4. **23**: the Tuscan boars were celebrated for their size and ferocity. Martial has an epigram on one that was sent him as a present. *Tuscae glandis aper populator;* and ends by saying, *noster te non capit ignis,* "You are too large for my kitchen-fire," vii 27. *venabula* are "hunting-spears," *lato venabula ferro,* Virg. Aen. iv 131; *venabula tigris corpore fixa,* Ov. Met. ix 205. **24**: *provocet,* "challenges," as in vi 321 and 376. **25**: this line is found

again at x 226. Two other instances of recurring lines are to be found in Juvenal, x 365 and xiv 315, xiii 137, and (with a slight variation) xvi 41. For examples of the same kind in Horace and Virgil, cf. Orellius ad Hor. Epp. i 1 56. This line looks like a parody on Virgil, Ecl. i 29, *Candidior postquam tondenti barba cadebat.* Martial applies *sonare* to the sound of the razor cutting the beard, *Antiochi tantum barbara tela sonent*, xi 84 12. Who the barber was who Juvenal says shaved him in his youth it is impossible to say, possibly the *Cinnamus* mentioned by Martial, vii 64. *gravis* may mean "that had grown incommodious to me," "my superfluous beard," as at xi 127. *juveni* is here, "when I was a young man," not "when I was in my prime," v 45 note, as Mr. Evans translates it. Juvenal was very likely in his prime when he first wrote this Satire. The meaning is, "in my early days." Another reading is *juvenis*. **26** : the contempt of our poet for the Egyptians frequently breaks out, cf. 130 below and Satire xv. *Canopus*, a town of Egypt, about fifteen miles from Alexandria, celebrated for its profligacy, in which connection it is specially referred to again, vi 84 and xv 46. Traces of its ruins are still said to exist near Aboukir. **27** : *Crispinus* is again attacked in iv 1, *Ecce iterum Crispinus.* He was a favourite of Domitian, and is flattered, as might be expected, by Martial, the fulsome panegyrist of that tyrant, *Sic placidum videas semper Crispine tonantem, Nec te Roma minus, quam tua Memphis amet*, vii 99. That he was an Egyptian is apparent from these two passages, which assign two different cities in Egypt for his birthplace. **28** : the fondness of the Romans for covering their fingers with rings is well known. In the time of Horace, three was considered a large number, *saepe notatus Cum tribus annellis modo laeva Priscus inani*, Sat. ii 7 9. But, at a later period, the number had increased, *exornamus annulis digitos, in omni articulo gemma disponitur*, Senec. Nat. Quest. vii 31 ; and even more, *Sardonychas, smaragdos, adamantas, iaspidas uno Versat in articulo Stella*, Mart. v 11, and cf. xi 59. The same poet alludes to their being sometimes extremely heavy, *Annulus iste tuus fuerat modo cruribus aptus, Non eadem digitis pondera conveniunt*, xi 37 ; and cf. v 61, xiv 123, where he writes, *Saepe gravis digitis elabitur annulus unctis*, an expression very

closely resembling the *digitis sudantibus* of this line. Supposit. 13, Pers. i 16, cf. Plin. H. N. xxxiii 1. **29**: he seems to have had one ring for summer and another for winter.

30, 31: *iniquae urbis*, literally "the unjust, unfair city;" hence it means the inequalities, the unfair contrasts offered by the city, such as those shown below—the small lawyer turned grandee, the informer at the top of the tree, the nobility in ruins, &c.; so *iniquas Caesaris ad mensas*, v 4, and cf. xiv 126. **31**: *ferreus*, "case-hardened," as we say. **32**: Matho was a blustering advocate, often laughed at by Juvenal and Martial. At vii 129, he is represented as a bankrupt, and it has been conjectured from this that, having failed as a lawyer, he afterwards set up as an informer, and made a fortune; from which it has been further inferred, that this Satire, or at any rate this portion of it, is of later composition than the seventh. But all this is without warrant. Here, at any rate, we find him in his new palanquin, like a great man, and furnishing one of those sights which, the poet says, might induce any one to write satire; cf. xi 34, Mart. iv 80 81, &c. **33**: *ipso*, "the great man," "filled by his lordship," a common use of *ipse*, 62, v 114, &c. *magni delator amici;* who the informer and his friend were, we do not know; it is useless, therefore, to cite, with the commentators, a number of names. **34**: *de nobilitate comesa.* This passage looks very much as if it had been originally written in the time of Domitian. It is better to take it of the persons, not their property. Compare iii 259, *Quid superest de corporibus?* cf. also iv 97. But it might also mean, "who will soon clutch from the nobility what remains to them," for *rapere aliquid de aliquo* is perfectly good. In either case this seems an odd way of putting it, "what *remains* of what *is eaten up.*" **35**: *Massa.* Baebius Massa was a notorious informer under Domitian. Martial speaks of him as *fur nummorum*, xii 29. Pliny the younger was assigned by the Senate as one of the prosecuting counsel against him, for his extortions in the province of Baetica, Plin. Epp. vii 33. **36**: *Carus*, another informer, mentioned by Martial xii 25, *Ecce reum Carus te detulit*, and Plin. Epp. i 5, also in Epp. vii 27, where he says that, if Domitian had lived a little longer, he should have perished,

articles of impeachment drawn up against him by this Carus having been found in the deceased Emperor's desk. *et a trepido Thymele summissa Latino.* It is impossible to do more than offer a conjecture as to the meaning of these words. Some suppose Thymele to have been the wife, or mistress, of Latinus, the actor, sent by him to propitiate an informer. In this case, some well-known event is referred to, the narrative of which has not come down to us. Others (changing *et* into *ut*) think there is an allusion to a scene, and most likely a common one, on the stage, in which the detected lover, dreading the vengeance of the outraged husband, induces the wife to attempt to soften him with a bribe. I prefer the former meaning, which is supported by the MSS. and the scholiast. Latinus was a favourite actor, mentioned in vi 44, and frequently by Martial, ii 72, &c. He was himself an informer under Domitian, according to a scholium on Juvenal iv 53–55 and cf. Mart. ix 29. *Thymele* (from θυμέλη, the altar of Dionysus, in the centre of the orchestra, on the Greek stage) was most likely the "theatrical name" of an actress who frequently played with Latinus, *Thymelen spectas derisoremque Latinum*, Mart. i 5. The name occurs twice again in Juvenal, vi 66, viii 197. *summissa* may have an indecent meaning, but probably means only "sent privately," as in Cic. Verr. Act. ii Lib. i c. 41, and Act. ii Lib. 3, c. 28. **37**: *summoveant; summovere, verbum proprium de lictoribus*, Festus. It was originally applied to the lictors, who were said *summovere turbam*, "to clear the way," before the consuls whom they preceded. So Hor. Od. ii 16 10, *Non enim gazae neque consularis Summovet lictor miseros tumultus Mentis;* and Seneca, Epp. 94, *Non est quod feliciorem judices cui summovetur quam quem lictor semita dejicit.* Horace uses it in exactly the same sense as here, Sat. i 9 47, *Dispeream ni summosses omnes;* compare Stat. Silv. iii 3 179. It is well rendered by Macleane, "when men elbow you out of the way." Compare iii 124, *limine summoveor*, and xiv 186. But it had come, by this time, to mean merely "to move out of the way," "to replace." However, the author may fancy himself standing in the street, making notes (63 below), in which case the sense may be taken literally. *Dimovere* is also used in this sense, Tac. Hist. iii 31, &c. *testamenta*, properly, "wills in

their favour." **38** : *noctibus,* "night work." In Cic. ad Att. i i 6; Plaut. Asin. iii 3 34 and 146; and Catull. 8–15, if the reading *nocte* be accepted, *nox* has the same obscene sense. **39** : *processus,* "advancement," from *procedere,* which is used in the same sense : *Studiis processimus, studiis periclitati sumus rursusque processimus,* Plin. Epp. iv 24; and *ambitio et procedendi libido* are coupled in Epp. viii 6. The word must have originally referred to "pioneering," as προκόπτειν; cf. Arn. ad Thucyd. iv 60; Paley. Eurip. Hippolyt. 23. *vetulae vesica beatae. Nunc sectaris anus, O quantum cogit egestas,* Mart. xi 87. Some have seen here an allusion to the circumstances of Hadrian's adoption. Spart. Hadr. 4. But this Satire must have been written before that event, though lines 37–44 may very well have been added. **40** : the Roman As, the standard of value, was divided into twelve parts, *unciae,* which were named, according to the number of ounces they contained, *As, deunx, dodrans,* &c., down to *uncia* (each of these parts was not, however, represented by a separate coin). *deuncem* means here eleven-twelfths, and *unciolam,* diminutive of *unciam,* a paltry twelfth. *Gillo* and *Proculeius,* if they be real persons, are happily unknown to us, out of this verse. Compare Mart. i 59 5, vii 14 10. **42** : *sanguinis,* of vigour; the expenditure of his manly powers; cf. Plaut. Curc. i 2 65. **43** : there is here perhaps a reminiscence of Virgil, Aen. ii 379 sqq.

44 : this line is explained by Suetonius, Calig. c 20 : (*Caligula instituit*) *in Gallia Lugduni certamen Graecae Latinaeque facundiae quo certamine ferunt victoribus praemia victos contulisse, eorumdem et laudes componere coactos: eos autem qui maxime displicuissent, scripta sua spongia linguare delere jussos, nisi ferulis objurgari aut flumine proximo mergi maluissent.* A person contending under these circumstances might well be pale. **45** : *jecur.* The liver was supposed to be the seat of the strongest passions, cf. vi 648; Hor. Od. i 25 15, *Voluptas et concupiscentia juxta eos qui de physicis disputant, consistit in jecore,* Hieronymus quoted by Orell. The Greeks held the same view. **47** : *pupilli prostantis spoliator.* Horace says, *Non fraudem socio puerove incogitat ullam Pupillo,* Epp. ii 1 122 123, Juv. x 222 223. **47, 48** : *inani judicio.* So the poet exclaims, viii 94, *sed quid damnatio confert?* "Of what use to the provincials are the

condemnations of these rapacious governors?" *infamia* cannot be literally translated. It entailed on the condemned person certain legal disabilities; cf. Dict. G. and R. Ant. **49**: *Marius Priscus* was tried A.D. 100, and condemned to banishment, for his exactions and misdeeds in Africa, where he had been governor. An account of the trial will be found in Pliny, Epp. ii 11, who speaks of "the severity of the example." The younger Pliny, with Tacitus the historian, appeared for the prosecution. Marius and his extortions are again mentioned by Juvenal, viii 120. It would seem, from this passage, that he managed to live comfortably in his exile with a portion of his ill-gotten gains. Exile was the punishment for the offence of *repetundae* under the Empire, Tac. Ann. xiv 28. Pliny the younger says that Marius was not nearly so bad as some others, Epp. iii 9; but from being better known he would be more likely to be chosen as an illustration by the poet. *ab octava bibit*, begins to drink at the eighth hour, *i.e.*, at two o'clock. The usual dinner-hour of the well-to-do Romans seems to have been the ninth in summer and the tenth in winter, Mart. iv 8, xi 52, Plin. Epp. iii 1. One hour before dinner they bathed (see the passages just cited). Marius is here represented as beginning to drink an hour before the usual time, perhaps at his bath; see viii 168 note, so, *vos convivia lauta sumptuose de die facitis?* i.e., *de meridie*, Catull. 47 5, and Ellis's note. *fruitur Dis iratis. Iraque nostra fruitur*, Sen. H. F. 34. **50**: *victrix provincia ploras* may be a reminiscence of *nocentissima victoria* used by Cicero, in precisely the same sense, of a province after gaining a suit. Verr. Act. i 14. *vincere* is the regular word for gaining a lawsuit, Plin. Epp. vi 33, &c. **51**: *Venusina lucerna*, "the lucubrations of a Horace" who was born at Venusia, Sat. ii 1 34 35. **52**: *agitem* may mean "hoot off the stage," as in Hor. A. P. 341, *Centuriae seniorum agitant expertia frugis*, or "hoot at," as ib. 456, *agitant pueri incautique sequuntur*. Compare Juv. ii 88. *agitat rem militarem*, Cic. pro Mur. 9. Or the sense may be, "Shall I not treat of these topics?" as in Hor. ii 6 73; Per. vi 5. *juvenes agitare jocos;* and Juv. vi 475. **52, 53**: compare with lines 52 53 54, Mart. x 4, sqq. which convey the same idea: *Qui legis Oedipodem, caligantemque*

Thyesten, Colchidas et Scyllas, quid nisi monstra legis? Quid tibi raptus Hylas, quid Parthenopaeus et Atys? Quid tibi dormitor proderit Endymion? Exutusve puer pennis labentibus? . . . Non hic Centauros, non Gorgonas, Harpyiasque Invenies, hominem pagina nostra sapit. A verb must be supplied before *Heracleas*, perhaps *agitem* again, in the sense of "to meditate," "to design" (*Id mecum agitans sedulo*, Ter.; *Nunc quae animo agitem audite*, Livy). And after *Heracleas* supply *fabulas*. So *Lucanos* for *Lucanos agros*, viii 180. These ellipses are very common in Juvenal. The sense is, "Why should I pursue such threadbare and profitless themes as the labours of Hercules, the wanderings of Diomede, the bellowings of the Minotaur in the Cretan labyrinth, Icarus trying to fly and falling into the sea, and his father Daedalus soaring along in safety on wings of his own construction?" *magis*, i.q. *potius*. **55**: *leno* is the husband. If a husband condoned an act of adultery on the part of his wife and her paramour, he was, by the Julian law, guilty of *lenocinium*. In cases where the wife was legally incapacitated from taking a legacy from the adulterer, the husband unblushingly causes it to be put into his own name as the reward of his connivance. The wife would be incapacitated either—(1.) by a law of Domitian, which *probrosis feminis jus capiendi legata hereditatesque ademit*, Suet. Domit. c 8; or (2.) in certain cases, by the Lex Voconia, see Dict. G. and R. Ant., under "Lex Voconia," and Long's excurs. on Cic. Verr. Act. ii Lib. i. Either case of disability may be alluded to here. Indeed the question is hardly worth fighting over in company with some commentators. Juvenal, as a poet, had possibly not much more knowledge of the Roman law (*interеam si novi civilia jura*, says Horace) than our own poets possess, for the most part, of our laws; and he himself might have been unable to tell us what statute, if any in particular, he alludes to. He says, "The wife gets a legacy, and if she can't take, her husband comes forward in her place, and *his* name goes into the will;" and that must be sufficient for us. **57**: *vigilanti stertere naso; vigilans stertis*, Lucret. iii 1061. There is a double sense here: to snore with a nose which is, at any rate, wide-awake, *i.e.*, with a cunning sneer, for the nose was supposed by the ancients to be the seat of

derision, mockery, &c: *Altior homini tantum, quem novi mores subdolae irrisioni dicarere, nasus*, Plin. H. N. xi 37. So, *naso suspendere adunco*, "to laugh at," Hor. Sat. i 6 5; *nimis uncis Naribus indulges*, Pers. i 40; *Non cuicumque datum est habere nasum*, "to have a sense of humour," Mart. i 42 18; *Nasutus nimium cupis videri*, id. xii 37; *naris emunctae senex* (of Aesop), Phaedr. iii 3 &c. &c. Compare Ov. Am. ii 5 13 14; and so μυκτὴρ in Greek. **58**: *sperare*; another reading is *spectare*, which would give much the same sense. These verbs are constantly found as various MS. readings of the same passage, *e.g.*, Ov. Met. xiv 653, Lucan vii 248, Mart. ii 64 9, &c. **59**: *praesepibus*, stables. An old commentator renders "brothels;" but I know of no instance of the word being used in that sense. It is used for a "table," "crib," jocularly, Hor. Epp. i 15 28. Juvenal seems to have had a great dislike to driving and racing, viii 147 sqq, xi 195. "When a man thinks himself entitled to look for high military command, who, while yet a boy, has squandered all his property in horseflesh, and has beggared himself with driving about the public thoroughfares; for he acted as the Emperor's charioteer when the great man was showing himself off to some of his eunuch-mistresses." There is no difficulty in the change from *donavit* in the past tense to *caret* and *pervolat* in the present, as this is the almost universal construction with *dum*. "A man who has given his property to horseflesh, and has lost his money in flying," &c. Mr. Simcox, in a note, the first part of which I do not understand, says, "Macleane makes him a hack-coachman to Nero, which would be likely to be less ruinous than degrading." But *nam* does not explain why he was ruined, but why he expects an appointment in the army. He looks for a good berth after ruining himself "on the turf," as we say, *for* he acted as charioteer to the Emperor on certain special occasions. *Automedon* was the charioteer of Achilles. The name is used as we use the term "a Jehu." *ipse* is the great man, 33. It is so used, standing alone, of Jove, Ov. Met. ii 390, often of Emperors. It may mean Nero here, but more probably Domitian. Having been charioteer to Nero would be no recommendation to Domitian, in whose reign this Satire may have been originally

written. *lacernatae amicae: lacerna* is used only of men's cloaks; and the meaning *might* be "a woman dressed up as a man," but it is better to take the words in the sense of his "man-mistress." *Amica* will then be used in the feminine, as *nova nupta* (of a man) ii 120. *se jactare* is equivalent to the French "se faire valoir," "se pavaner." *stultae dum te jactare maritae Quaeris*, Ov. Her. xii 175. ⊣ **63**: *ceras, i.e.*, tabulae or tabellae, waxed tablets for writing on; cf. Dict. G. and R. Ant. One of the prettiest poems of Propertius is in the form of an advertisement of his lost tablets, which he describes as *vulgari buxo sordida cera*, iii 23. They were also made of maple-wood, Ov. Am. i 11 28. **64**: *sexta cervice.* This villain was carried by six bearers by way of show-off (though eight were sometimes employed, Mart. vi 84). Martial says to an impostor who aped this kind of splendour, *Quid te Cappadocum sex onus esse juvat? . . . Non debes ferri mortuus hexaphoro, i.e.*, you will be buried on a dunghill, as we should say, Mart. vi 77. Two bearers seem to have been the ordinary number, Juv. ix 142 sqq. The *cathedra* was a ladies' chair, *femineae cathedrae*, Mart. iii 63; *molles cathedrae*, Juv. vi 91; and it was considered a mark of effeminacy in a man to go abroad in one. Hence the impudence of this man, who is borne *hinc atque inde patens ac nuda paene cathedra;* he does not even make an effort to conceal himself. See Dict. G. and R. Ant., article "Cathedra." **66**: *referens. Patrem referre*, to recall his father, Plin. Epp. *reddere* is used in the same sense. *Maecenate supino.* Mæcenas had passed into a proverb for effeminacy, cf. xii 39. *supinus*, in a literal sense, would be the proper word for a person reclining in a litter: *nulla vehitur cervice supinus Carpentove sedens*, Luc. ix 589; and *resupinus*, Ov. A. A. i 487.

67: *signator falso* must be taken together. **68**: *gemma uda*, an allusion to wetting the seal before affixing it: *Idem ego, ut arcanas possim signare tabellas Neve tenax ceram siccare gemma trahat Humida formosae tangam prius ora puellae*, Ov. Am. ii 15 15; Met. ix 565 566. **69**: *matrona potens.* The same expression occurs in Horace A. P. 116: *Intererit multum Davusne loquatur an heros Maturusne senex an adhuc florente juventa Fervidus et matrona potens an sedula nutrix*, where

Orellius renders *die gebietende Hausfrau*. **I take the meaning to be "imperious," as in Ter. Heaut. Tim. ii 1 15, *Mea est potens, procax, magnifica, sumptuosa, nobilis.* In Ov. Met. iii 292, Semele is *nimium potens.* *matrona* has here, as often, the sense of "a lady of quality." *Calenum*, the wine of Cales, in Campania, several times mentioned by Horace: *Caecubum et prelo domitam Caleno, Tu bibes uvam*, Od. i 20 9. 70: *rubetam*, a bramble-frog (from *rubus*). They were supposed to be poisonous above all others: *Sunt et ranis venena, rubetis maxime*, Plin. H. N. xxv 10; and he proceeds to give the remedy, cf. Hor. Epod. v 19. Of course all this is fabulous. 71: *Locusta* was a professional poisoner, employed by Agrippina to poison Claudius, and by Nero to poison Britannicus. She was put to death by Galba. Her name had become proverbial; as we should say, "a Brinvilliers." *rudes*, innocent, untutored: *Nequitiaeque suae noluit (puellas) esse rudes*, Propert. ii 6 30. 72: *per famam et populum.* This is generally taken as a ἓν διὰ δυοῖν for *per famam populi*, cf. v 77. Orellius on Hor. Od. i 35 33, *Eheu cicatricum et sceleris pudet Fratrumque*, says, "Solita arte abstractum cum concreto artissime jungit." We have the same conjunction of abstract *famam* and concrete *populum* here. But we might translate equally well "through ill-report, through the people." *efferre*; this is the proper word for funerals, vi 175 567, xiv 220: *Effert uxores Fabius, Chrestilla maritos*, Mart. viii 43; *Effertur imus, . . . ad sepulcrum venimus*, Ter. And. i 1 90 101. The simple *ferre* is similarly used, Ov. Trist. i 3 89. 73: *Gyarus* or *Gyara* (Giura), a small island of the Cyclades, used as a place of deportation for the worst criminals, vi 563, x 170. 74: *si vis esse aliquis.* *meque ut facies velis aliquem*, Cic. ad Att. iii 15. So τις. κἠγών τις φαίνομαι ἦμεν. Theocr. xi 79. Another reading is *aliquid.* *si umquam in dicendo fuimus aliquid*, Cic. ad Att. iv. 2. *alget*, starves with cold.**

75: *criminibus* means properly "accusations;" but here "crimes," being contrasted with *probitas.* 76: *argentum vetus*, "old plate," was more esteemed than new: *I nunc argentum et marmor vetus aeraque et artes Suspice*, Hor. Epp. i 6 17; *Apponitur coena in argento puro et antiquo*, Plin. Epp. iii 1. *arg.* Fr. "argenterie." *Stantem extra pocula caprum.*

Martial says of a lizard similarly standing out in relief on a silver cup, *Mentoris manu ducta Lacerta vivit et timetur argentum*, iii 41; *Cymbiaque argento perfecta, atque aspera signis*, Virg. Aen. v 267; *Signifero cratere*, Valer. Flacc. i 337. Sometimes these ornamental figures were not actually carved in the substance of the cup, but were fitted to it as an appendage, capable of being put on and taken off. Thus, gold was sometimes fitted on silver. Cf., on this subject, Cic. Verr. ii 4 14, Long's note, and Rich. Dict. Ant., article "Emblema." **78**: *praetextatus adulter*, cf. ii 170. The *toga praetexta* was worn by the sons of freedmen until their assumption of the *toga virilis*, also by magistrates and others, though I cannot but think that there must have been a difference between these two sorts of *praetextae*. Here, I think the former kind is referred to, and the sense is "an adulterer in his teens." **80**: *Cluvienus*, some contemporary poetaster.

81: *ex quo*, "from the time that." "Horace has this phrase, *ex quo destituit Deos Mercede pacta Laomedon*, Od. iii 3 21," Macleane; and Juvenal many times, vi 294, x 77, xiv 261. In Pliny the younger, his contemporary, *ex quo* is, I believe, always used in a different sense, "propter quod" or "quamobrem." *tollentibus*. (*Notus*) *Quo non arbiter Hadriae Major, tollere seu ponere vult freta*, Hor. Od. i 3 15 16. According to the legend, Deucalion and Pyrrha were alone saved from the flood which submerged Hellas. When the flood had subsided, mankind were restored by their throwing stones behind them. Those which Deucalion threw grew into men; those which Pyrrha threw, into women. The story is told at length in Ovid. Met. i 260 sqq. **83**: *mollia saxa;* by the figure called "prolepsis" (anticipation). The stones did not become soft, *mollia*, till after they had begun to be warmed into life. In Virg. Aen. xi 211 212 there is an example which may be compared with the present: *Moerentes altum cinerem et confusa ruebant Ossa focis tepidoque onerabant aggere terrae*, literally "covered (the remains) with a warm mound of earth," *i.e.*, with a mound of earth which became warm by being placed over the remains (hot ashes and bones); cf. Hor. Od. ii 9 1, Juv. vi 514. *jam tibi lividos Distinguet autumnus racemos*, Hor. Od. ii 5 10, and

rubra deterges vulnera mappa, Juv. v 27, are other instances of prolepsis; so *Sternite molle fretum*, Stat. Silv. iii 2; *Prodidit lapsam domum*, Sen. Oct. 269. **85**: so Martial x 4 (quoted on 52), *hominem pagina nostra sapit.* **86**: *discursus. Haec propter quae litigamus, discurrimus, anhelamus.* Sen. de Ira. iii 32. Compare a passage in Plin. Epp. vii 9, *haec* (*opuscula*) *recipiunt amores, odia, iras, misericordiam, urbanitatem, omnia denique quae in vita . . . versantur.* **88**: *sinus*, the fold of the toga in which the purse was kept: *Semper amatorum ponderat illa sinus*, Propert. ii 16 12; *Quo pretium condat non habet ille sinum*, Ov. Am. i 10 18. So *gremius* in vii 215 and xiv 327. Others take the meaning to be, "When were the sails of avarice more widely spread?" in which sense we have *sinus* used below 150, *totos pande sinus.* There is a third rendering, "When did the gulf of avarice yawn wider?" I prefer the first explanation to the second. The third seems to me clearly wrong.

Alea, viii 10; for gambling generally, the most usual form of which was with the *tali* or dice; cf. Dict. G. and R. Ant. **89**: before *hos animos* supply *habuit.* It means here "vigour, vitality, fury." So *operta animos incendia servant*, Stat. Silv. v 3 171. **90**: *posita* is "staked:" *pocula ponam Fagina, caelatum divini opus Alcimedontis.* Virg. Ecl. iii 37. *arca*, "strong-box," "money-chest," x 25: *Callidus effracta nummos fur auferet arca*, Mart. v 42. **91**: *dispensatore*, the steward: *qui dispensat*, vii 219. **92**: *armigero*, because he carries the dice, or "because he furnishes the sinews of war, the money," according to Macleane; but the latter is rather a modern than an ancient figure of speech. Dice are called *arma* at xiv 5. *simplexne furor*, "Is it not something more than madness?" *sestertia centum*, about £780 of our money. **93**: *horrenti tunicam non reddere servo.* Before seeing Heinrich's explanation of this passage, I had made the following note: "It surely means that, having lost all the money he has with him, he gambles away the cloak of the servant who accompanies him." This is Heinrich's view, and I believe it to be correct. The *arca* was a heavy box, and would require a slave to carry it. It can hardly be used here, metaphorically (as it often is), for "one's whole property."

Some real event is probably alluded to, after the poet's manner. The usual way of rendering is, that the master, having lost all his money, is unable to give his slave a new tunic, and is forced to let him go shivering in his old one, or without one. In this case *reddere* is not simply equivalent to *dare*, as Ruperti has it, but has the sense of to "replace," exactly as we should say, "He cannot afford to replace his footman's old livery by a new one," *i.e.*, when the new livery is due. . . . If this sense be preferred, an identical use of the word occurs in Plaut. Most. i 27, where the tiles, &c., of a house being blown off, the master will not replace them—*Dominus indiligens reddere alias nevolt.* . . . "*Reddere* non est idem ac restituere ab alio quod acceperis, nec dare simpliciter, sed dare ea quae propter qualemcunque causam debentur iis quibus dantur, aut ad eos quocunque modo pertinent," Orell. ad Hor. Epp. ii 1 216; and this would exactly suit the sense here, if the latter rendering be preferred. *reddunt ora columbae*, iii 202, "give what is expected of them:" *mihi redditae sunt literae tuae*, Plin. Epp. i 8: *obligatam redde Jovi dapem*, Hor. Od. ii 7 17: *vox reddita tandem*, Valer. Flacc. i 209: *reddere jura*, are instances of this force of *reddere*, which is also used in the same sense of land. The *re* in compounds has often this force. *redditus* is frequently used in Lucret. for "assigned as a property." Professor Munro indeed says that *reddere* in Lucret. is often equivalent to *dare*, but in every instance the force of *re* seems plainly discernible. See, for example, the two cases particularly cited by him, ii 228 and 890. However, the former explanation seems preferable. **94**: *fercula* were a kind of movable trays, fitted on to the tops of the tables, and containing "a course," as we should term it. They were changed with each successive course. This appears from the discoveries at Pompeii: *coenae fercula nostrae Malim conviris quam placuisse coquis*, Mart. ix 82.

95: sqq. seem rather abruptly introduced. *sportula.* cf. Dict. G. and R. Ant. It will suffice here to say that it was a "dole," or gratuity distributed by rich men to their clients, sometimes in the shape of a small portion of food, sometimes in coin, *centum quadrantes*, about elevenpence of our money,

being the usual sum: *Dat Baiana mihi quadrantes sportula centum*, Mart. i 60; *Centum miselli jam valete quadrantes*, iii 7. It was usually distributed in the morning, below 128, Mart. xiv 125; but sometimes, as it would seem, in the afternoon, Mart. x 70, and even at night, id. i 81; *Sportula Cane tibi suprema nocte petita est.* The *sportula* is not mentioned by Horace. Before the Empire, it was not unusual for wealthy patrons to invite their attendants to a regular meal, *coena recta*, after their complimentary attendance at the Forum, &c.; but now the dole was set down at the door. This is what is meant by *primo limine sedet.* The clients never got beyond the *vestibulum*, or porch, 132. **96**: *turbae rapienda togatae.* This probably means only "by the crowd clad in their togas." It was expected that the client should put on his toga to go and attend his patron, and to receive his *sportula*, as on other occasions of ceremony. Martial alludes to this in one of the epigrams quoted above, *Attrita veniet sportula saepe toga*, xiv 125. Ruperti imagines the words *turbae togatae* to be used contemptuously, and supposes the toga, under the emperors, to have gone out of fashion for all but the lowest classes; but this is a mistake. He refers to Hor. Sat. i 2 63 82, which are nothing to the purpose. Pliny the younger, who certainly belonged to the very highest classes, wore a *toga* when in Rome. He says of his country villa, *Ibi nulla necessitas togae*, Epp. v 6; see notes to Juv. iii 171. In Sen. Epp. 121, *homines togati* is an expression for "the upper classes:" "primores civium," Lipsius ad loc.; and *turba togata* may be used in the same sense here. **97**: *tamen* refers to the paltry character of the *sportula.* Small as it is, *parva*, he nevertheless takes precautions not to give it to any one who has not a right to it. *Ille* must mean the master. I see no difficulty in supposing that he would sometimes witness the distribution. Moreover, who but he would be so frightened at the idea of being cheated? and again, *jubet*, 99. *Furunculus sportulam captat* became a proverb. **98**: *suppositus*, vi 602. **99**: *praecone.* The slave who calls out the name of the people is termed ironically *praeco*, "his lordship's crier." His proper designation was *nomenclator;* and where there were so many candidates for the

sportula, he must have been furnished with a list of such as had a right to come. So it would appear from Senec. de Benef. vi 33, where Lipsius quotes an expression of the same author, Epp. 68, *digerere in literam senes orbos.* But this refers to the converse practice, of people keeping a list of rich men to whom they paid their court. **100**: *ipsos Trojugenas, Sexaginta teras cum limina mane senator*, Mart. xii 26. The older families claimed a mythical descent from the Trojan Aeneas and his companions; as, for instance, the Julia Gens from Iulus, the Sergia Gens from Sergestus, the Memmii from Mnestheus, &c.; cf. Virg. Aen. v 117 sqq; compare Juv. viii 42 56 181, xi 95. **102**: *sed libertinus prior est.* These I take to be the words of the poet, "But a freedman stops the way." **104**: *natus ad Euphraten.* The Euphrates, as in viii 51, Virg. Georg. i 509, is used generally for the East, as it was the boundary of the Roman empire in that direction; so *ad Euphraten*, Ov. Fast. vi 465. Many slaves came from the East, especially Cappadocia, vii 15, Mart. x 76. Among several Eastern nations boring the ears was a sign of slavery, Exodus xxi 6. Juvenal does not seem to have been aware that by disusing ear-rings the *holes* in the ears would close up. **105**: *quinque tabernae.* Heinrich, following Dusaulx, takes these to mean the five banking-houses in the Forum mentioned by Livy, *Septem tabernae quae postea quinque et argentariae quae nunc novae appellantur*, xxvi 27, in which case the meaning will be, "My transactions on 'change bring me in an income of four hundred thousand sesterces" (four hundred sesteria), *i.e.*, roughly £3200, which was a knight's fee. I prefer this rendering, otherwise the meaning must be, "five shops which he lets out;" perhaps a part of his house encircling it after the Roman fashion: Suet. Nero 37; see Dict. G. and R. Ant. "Taberna." But £600 would be, I should imagine, a very high rent for a Roman shop. If *parant* be taken as "furnish me with," "are worth to me," £3200, *i.e.*, not annually, but, as we should say, in fee-simple, he could hardly add *Ego possideo plus Pallante et Licinis.*

After *quadringenta* supply *sestertia.* The *sestertium* was worth, at this time, about £7, 16s. **106**: *purpura major*,

the *Latus Clavus* or broad stripe worn by senators; cf. Dict. G. and R. Ant. "Clavus Latus," where a drawing is given. **107**: *Laurentum* is generally identified as Torre di Paterno, about sixteen miles from Rome. It was a marshy district. Perhaps the sheep fed there, like the boars, Hor. Sat. ii 4 42, were of an inferior quality. Pliny, however, speaks of the sheep being driven down from the mountains in winter and growing sleek in this district, Epp. ii 17. **107, 108**: This need not mean that Corvinus tends the sheep in person. **108**: *Corvinus*, a cognomen in the Valeria Gens. viii 5. It is here, as there, put for a man of the oldest family. **109**: *Pallas* was a freedman of Claudius, who amassed great wealth, and was put to death by Nero. Plin. H. N. xxxiii 10, speaks of his riches. According to Tacitus, Ann. xii 53, he was worth over two millions sterling, so that his wealth may well have become proverbial. Felix, before whom Paul preached, was a brother of this man. *Licinis*. *Licinus*, a wealthy freedman of Augustus, is probably intended. His name had become synonymous for that of a wealthy man, xiv 306, Pers. ii 36, Sen. Epp. 119 120. For the use of the plural, when only one person is meant, see viii 11 note. The freedman's speech ends here. As Macleane says, "He makes himself out to be vastly rich, and yet he is here begging." Juvenal, I take it, merely wants to show that everywhere wealth has the pre-eminence, even where it ought to be the very reverse of a recommendation; and, like most satirists, he constantly overcharges his pictures. Moreover, the man, in making himself out to be more wealthy than Pallas and Licinus, is romancing: he has made some money, and he exaggerates its amount. **110**: *honori* is a magistrate, as below 117, *summus honor*, iii 178, note; so ἀρχή, the abstract for the concrete; *latuit plebeio tectus amictu Omnis honos*, Luc. Phars. ii 81 19; *Omnis honos, cuncti veniunt ad limina fasces*, Stat. Silv. i 2 233; a reminiscence of the term is found in our "his honour;" similarly *potestas*, x 100, which survives in "podesta," and *opibus*, iii 235; "rich men," *vitia ultima*, ii 34; *vitium*, vi 413; *conjugium*, a wife, viii 219; *vires*, strong men, xv 104; *spectacula*, spectators, viii 205; *ergastula*, slaves, xiv 24. **111**: one who had been brought into the city as a slave. Newly

imported slaves had their feet chalked. *Est et vilissima (creta), qua pedes venalium trans mare advectorum denotare majores instituerunt*, Plin. H. N. xxxv 17; or marked with gypsum, Ov. Am. i 8 64; Tibull. ii 3 60—why, it is not easy to say: "perhaps that they might be traced if they ran away," says Mr. Simcox: and this may have been the origin of the custom. Propertius speaks of those *quorum titulus per barbara colla pependit Caelati medio cum saliere foro*, iv 5 51. Observe the pluperfect *venerat* here and at 68. **112**: *sanctissima divitiarum Majestas*, as *longissima coenae Spes homini*, 133 134. **113**: Cicero has the same words *funestae pecuniae*, but applied to a particular case, Phil. ii 37. **115, 116**: on the worship of Abstractions as Deities, cf. Boissier, "Réligion Romaine"—vol 1 p. 10; and see note to vi 1. **116**: we must suppose some bird to have built its nest in one of the temples of Concord at Rome: we do not know exactly to what he alludes; comp. Ov. Met. vi 97. According to the "Times" of Feb. 2, 1875, some coins were found at Bourbonne-les-bains (Haute-Marne) bearing the effigy of Faustina on one side, and, on the other, a bird on a tree with the word "Concordia." Birds commonly built their nests in the precincts of temples, Herod. i 159. "Concordia, who twitters when the birds salute their nest," Macleane. "The goddess (*i.e.*, her storks) twitters when votaries salute the nest," Escott. The Latin will bear either sense; I prefer the latter.

117: *sed cum summus honor.* We should be inclined to accuse Juvenal of exaggeration more often than we are now entitled to do, if the epigrams of Martial had never reached us: see Mart. xii 26, quoted on 100, also Mart. ii 18 and x 10, *Cum tu laurigeris annum qui fascibus intras Mane salutator limina mille teras Hic ego quid faciam? quid nobis Paule relinquis, Qui de plebe Numae densaque turba sumus?* a passage very closely resembling this one. *rationibus*, properly his calculations, estimates, accounts, vi 511. **119**: *quibus hinc toga.* cf. Mart. iii 30, *Sportula nulla datur . . . unde tibi togula est?* In ii 85 he begs a rich friend to give him an old toga, *rasam tu mihi mitte togam;* compare Pers. i 54. **120, 121**: *densissima lectica*, a thick crowd of them: *densissima ruga Cogitur in*

frontem, xiii 215 216. As it would hardly pay to get out, or hire, a *lectica* to go in quest of a shilling or so, one is led to think of these people as going a round of houses: but this does not altogether tally with what follows. Probably the whole thing is somewhat coloured. *Hic*, "Here's a fellow who," &c. **123**: *jam* indicates the practice he has had at this kind of thing. He has already grown cunning about it.

127: compare Martial iv 8. *dies* may here be rendered by "the day" or "the work of the day." It is often used in the latter sense, *salvo et composito die*, "all the day's work having been performed," Plin. Epp. ii 17: *Totum diem meum scrutor, facta ac dicta mea remetior.* Senec. de Ira. iii 36; *Vides quam honesti quam severi dies*, Plin. Epp. vi 31. We have had *noctibus* for night-work in 38, and compare Auson. Ep. 147, *Sit tuus hic fructus, vigilatas accipe noctes. rerum*, "of engagements." The poor clients are dragged about, all day, at the heels of their patron. **128**: *jurisque peritus Apollo.* There was a statue of Apollo in the Forum, as we learn from Pliny H. N. vii 53, where he speaks of the *Apollinem eboreum qui est in foro Augusti.* This is what Horace has been supposed to allude to in the well-known *sic me servavit Apollo.* Juvenal calls Apollo "learned in the law," from having stood there so long, listening (in effigy) to lawsuits. So Martial says to the statute of Marsyas, which was also in the Forum, *Ipse potes fieri Marsya causidicus*, ii 64 8. Sometimes the *sportula* was actually distributed in the courts, *Convenitur in media basilica, ubi tam palam sportulae quam in triclinio dantur*, Plin. Epp. ii 14. **130**: *Aegyptius atque Arabarches*, "some Egyptian and Arabian official." The word *Arabarches* (or *Alabarches* according to one reading) occurs in Cicero ad Att. ii 17, and in Josephus. It is not exactly known what this title means. The reference is probably to some small provincial officer who had got his statue put up. Heinrich has a long and learned note on the subject, which may be consulted. **131**: the Romans greatly dreaded a desecration of this kind for their tombs, monuments, &c.: *Erit mihi curae, ut testamento caveam ne mortuus injuriam accipiam; praeponam enim unum ex libertis sepulcro meo custodiae causa, ne in monumentum meum populus cacatum currat*, Petron. 71; *Hospes ad hunc*

tumulum ne meias, ossa precantur tecta hominis, part of an old inscription cited by Heinsius ad loc; Hor Sat. i 8 38; A. Poet. 471; Pers. i 113. *non tantum mejere*, understand, "but also do something worse." *non tantum* is frequently used in this way: *Rem atrocem nec tantum epistola dignam*, Plin. Epp. iii 14; *Oscula jam sumet; jam non tantum oscula sumet*, Ov. Am. i 4 63. **132**: the clients had received their *sportula* in the morning; but after running about all day, they expected to be offered something to eat. Not getting it, they go off with their *centum quadrantes* (or elevenpence) to buy necessaries. *Vestibulum* was the space before the door: *locus ante januam domus vacuus*, Aul. Gell. xvi 5. Private houses generally lay somewhat back from the line of the street, and this space was often considerable, and decorated with statues &c. vii 126. This seems to have been the place where the clients waited their patron's pleasure: *Exclusorum clientium turba referta vestibula*, Sen. Cons. Marc. 10. **136**: *rex horum*, the great man, their patron. *rex* is very common in this sense, v 14 137; and *regina* is similarly used, *utuntur his (eunuchis) reginae*, "great ladies," Ter. Eun. i 2 88, Mart. x 64 1. *jac.* reclines at table, as at viii 173; so of Piso *Graeci stipati, quini in lectulis. Ipse solus*, Cic. in L. Calph. Pis. 27. **137, 138**: Ribbeck rejects these lines, and it is not easy to give them a clear meaning. Mr. Simcox translates— "With all his costly tables, he finds one quite room enough to eat up an heritage upon," "out of all these splendid tables," &c., and this is as good a translation as any. *de* is not unusually put in this way; *Praeteriine tuas, de tot coelestibus, aras?* Ov. Her. xxi 179, and *ex. Omnibus ex illis Lotide captus erat*, Fast. i 416. The passion of the Romans for costly tables is well known. According to Mart. one man had nearly two hundred of them, vii 48. *patrimonia*. Seneca says, in the same way, that women suspend "whole fortunes," *patrimonia*, from their ears in the shape of ear-rings, De Benef. vii 9. **139**: we shall get rid of parasites, it is true, if this practice of dining alone goes on.

140, 141: for *quanta est gula*, compare Mart. v 70 5, *O quanta est gula centies comesse;* Juv. v 94 158. Pliny H. N. viii 51 tells us that P. Servilius Rullus was the first to serve

up whole boars at entertainments, "now," he adds, "an everyday practice:" *Non coenat sine apro noster, Tite, Caecilianus,* Mart. vii 59, and compare his epigram already quoted, vii 27. The commentators quote Varro R. R. ii 4 10, *Suillum pecus donatum a natura dicunt ad epulandum.* **142**: *poena tamen praesens,* it comes home to you, makes its presence felt; so *praesens numen. Mullorum leporumque et suminis exitus hic est Sulfureusque color, carnificesque pedes,* Mart. xii 48; *vides ut pallidus omnis Coena desurgat dubia?* Hor. Sat. ii 2 76, Hor. Sat. ii 7 107—109. *cum tu deponis amictus;* perhaps there is a satirical allusion here to 133 above, where the poor clients are said *deponere vota;* see iii 143 note. **143**: *crudum,* raw, *i.e.,* undigested. Elsewhere, it is active, "not digesting," "gorged with food." *Crudi tumidique lavemur,* Hor. Epp. I 6 61. Martial puns upon this double sense of the word in iii 13, *Accusas, rumpisque coquum tamquam omnia cruda Attulerit, numquam sic ego crudus ero, i.e.,* "I shall never gain an indigestion in this way." **145**: the story of your death makes its way from one dinner-table to another, a piece of news, but not a subject of gloom. *fabula,* the tale, story. *Habes omnes fabulas urbis,* Plin. Epp. viii 18; *Heu me per urbem (nam pudet tanti mali) fabula quanta fui,* Hor. Epod. xi 7 8; *Occurrit illi sportularum fabula,* "a rumour about the sportulae," Mart. iii 14. Compare Suet. Domit. 15, where a story *coenantibus inter ceteras diei fabulas refertur,* Ov. Met. iv 189. The rich man's friends are angry that they have had no legacy left them, so they scoff at his funeral, "and the town laughs at their indignation," adds Mr. Simcox, referring (with other editors) the expression *nova nec tristis fabula* to what is described in the following line. In that case *et* would be better than *it,* and so Jahn and Ribbeck edit. But the *nova nec tristis fabula* is the news of the man's death. Compare xi 3 4, *omnis convictus . . . de Rutilo.*

147: *quid nos dura refugimus Aetas? quid intactum nefasti Liquimus?* Hor. Od. i 35 34. **148**: *eadem cupient facientque,* will be animated by the same desires, and engage in the same actions. **149**: *in praecipiti stare* is found in Virgil, Aen. ii 460, in a sense approaching, but not quite identical with, that in which it seems to be used here. cf. Conington's

note. *In praecipiti stetit*, has reached a climax; has come to a crisis: *casus medicusve levarit Aegrum ex praecipiti*, Hor. Sat. ii 3 293; Petron. 55. **150**: *totos pande sinus.* The younger Pliny is very fond of this image; *Doloris velis latissime vectus es* Epp. iv 20: *Dedimus vela indignationi, dedimus irae, dedimus dolori*, vi 33; *Immitte rudentes, pande vela, ac si quando alias, toto ingenio vehere*, viii 4. Quintilian uses it in his preface to his bookseller, *permittamus vela ventis.* Ov. Fast. ii 3, Virg. Georg. ii 41, iv 117, Cic. de Leg. Agr. i 9, Long's note. **151**: there is a hiatus after *materiae.* This is very common in our poet, ii 26, iii 70, &c. **153**: *simplicitas* is put here for *libertas*, the word he dare not mention. It means "frankness, outspokenness:" *Rogo ut mihi semper, eadem simplicitate, quoties cessare videbor, convitium facias*, Plin. Epp. vi 12, so *simpliciter*, "without disguise," Epp. i 13. For a somewhat similar example of reticence, cf. Plin. Epp. viii 6, *tanta Pallantis ipsius (quid dicam nescio)*, where *insolentia* or some such word must be supplied. **154**: Mucius (or Mutius) was ridiculed by Lucilius, as appears from Pers. i 114, *Secuit Lucilius urbem, Te Lupe te Muci et genuinum fregit in illis.* The meaning is, "What does it matter what Mucius did? But try your hand on Tigellinus, for instance, and see what will happen to you." Tigellinus, the favourite of Nero, perished under Otho. The name is used here proverbially. **155**: *pone Tigellinum*, &c. The sense seems to be, "Dare to portray Tigellinus, and you will soon be ablaze in the midst of the faggots like the wretches who burn and smoke with a stake under their chins, marking a broad furrow in the sand as your body is dragged (to execution) through the arena." There is no difficulty in *deducis* for *deduces.* The present pictures the scene as if actually going on; and, moreover, *deducis* is attracted into the present tense, as it were, by the *ardent* which precedes it. These changes of tense from past and future to present, present to past, &c., are exceedingly common in Juvenal, and indeed in all the Roman poets. Compare x 17 18 xii 64 sqq. Heinrich has suggested *aut* for *et*, without MS. authority; but, perhaps, the neatest emendation is that offered in the Porson tracts (quoted by Jahn), *Et latum media sulcum quae ducit arena.* It is, however, quite

true that *diducit* might stand, "*i.e.*, *quae taeda diducit.* In Gr. and Lat. the relative is often to be supplied from a preceding clause in a different case," Mayor. This is Madvig.'s view. In every case where the second clause is thus, so to speak, hung up in the air, *et* may be rendered in English by "while.' But I hardly think that this explanation applies here. M. Despois, the French translator, takes it, "You leave a large furrow of calcined matter." Of all renderings, the feeblest is that which would give to this line a metaphorical meaning, "You will be burnt alive, and *you are only ploughing the sand!*" There are many other explanations of these lines, but I believe the above to be the best of a passage about which there must always be some doubt. The reference is to the well-known execution of the Christians under Nero, on the charge of having set fire to Rome, Tac. Ann. xv 44. The fire broke out in the house of Tigellinus, the infamous favourite of that emperor. According to M. Cato (quoted by Aul. Gell. iii 14), this mode of torture must have been an old one: (*Carthaginienses*) *homines defoderunt in terram dimidiatos, ignemque circumposuerunt. Circumdati defossis corporibus ignes*, Sen. de Ir. iii 3, where Gronovius, in a note, quotes other passages where it is mentioned. *taeda* is the wood of the pinus; *taeda*, Virg. Aen. iv 505. Here, as constantly where these two words are in question, the MSS. vary between *diducere* and *deducere*. **158, 159**: the words of the poet, "What! are wretches polluted with the foulest crimes to lord it over us with impunity, and I not to speak out?" *Qui dedit ergo tribus*, &c., is merely put illustratively, "A man who, for instance, has poisoned three of his uncles." *Pensilibus plumis. pluma paterna*, vi 88. *pluma Sardanapali*, x 362. Mart. xii 17 *dormit et in pluma, purpureoque toro*, where the word is used in the sense of "luxury." Here it means "borne aloft in his palanquin, with its luxurious appliances in the way of featherbeds," "in luxurious elevation." **160**: the friendly interlocutor here resumes. "Far from speaking out, if you should meet one of the individuals to whom you refer, who have risen to great positions by their crimes, your finger to your lips! Not a word! Even to say *hic est* (here comes the great man! Pers. i 28), Mart. v 13 3, οὗτος ἐκεῖνος, Lucian.

Somn. 11, would be dangerous. His guilty conscience would see in you an accuser." Divested of poetical exaggeration, the meaning is very clear. *venire contra*, to meet; so *adversum ire*, to go to meet, Ter. Ad. i 1 2. **162** sqq: the meaning is, write about Turnus and Aeneas, or Achilles or Hylas, people who are dead and gone, or who never existed, and you will be safe enough. But dare, like Lucilius, to satirise living individuals, and you will find it no joke. *Committas. committere* is commonly used in the sense of, "to match a pair of gladiators," "to set fighting together;" *committere classes*, Mart. Sp. 28; *victores committe Venus*, viii 43, Juv. vi 436, so συνίημι, συμβάλλω, συνελάσσω. **163**: *percussus Achilles* may be rendered "the death of Achilles." Numerous instances of this common Latin construction are to be found in Juvenal: *exstinctus passer*, vi 8, the death of a sparrow; vi 288–291, xiii 205 206. Perhaps as good an illustration as any is to be found in Horace, *ademptus Hector Tradidit fessis leviora tolli Pergama Graiis*, the removal of Hector; and again, *invisum nepotem Marti redonabo. Nullum illi limen praeclusa Caesàris domus abstulit*, Sen. It is a construction which often leads to ambiguity, e.g. *ereptae virginis ira*, Virg. Aen. ii 413, *patris occisi crudelitas*, Spart. Carac. 3, where the sense intended is only to be gathered from the context. cf. v 9 10 note, Madvig. Lat. Gr. § 426. Add to what he says of a substantive used with the perfect participle in this way, the case of a substantive used in apposition with another. For instance, *Illo quaeratur conjux Lavinia campo*, Virg. xii 80, does not mean that Lavinia is to be sought, but a marriage with Lavinia, "Lavinia's hand," *nunquam ille te fratrem ulli minatus est*, Sen. Cons. ad Polyb. 22. And similarly of a substantive with an adjective, *reduces socios, Nuntio*, Æn. i 390. *Degeneremque Neoptolemum narrare memento*, Aen. ii 549; *plenum Nerone propinquo*, Juv. viii 72, full of his relationship to Nero. You may choose such themes as Virgil chose, and Statius and Valerius Flaccus. **165**: *secuit Lucilius urbem*, Pers. i 114, quoted above. **169**: *ante tubas*, or *ante tubam*, is a proverbial expression, according to Conington, Virg. Aen. xi 424. *galeatum.* The Roman soldier on the march carried his helmet slung over his right shoulder. They are so represented on

Trajan's Pillar. He would put on his helmet, then, just before the actual fight. In one of Caesar's battles, the Romans are represented as having been attacked before they had time to put on their helmets, Bell. Gall. ii 21; so Turnus is *tempora nudus adhuc*, Virg. Aen. xi 489, and Achilles puts on his helmet last of all, Il. xix 380 381; and Odyss. xii 121. **170**: the poet resumes at *experiar*. The principal roads leading out of Rome and other cities were lined for a considerable distance with tombs on both sides, as may be seen in "the Street of Tombs," at Pompeii, at this day. The meaning is, "I will try my hand, then, on the dead." Heinrich supposes Juvenal to allude to Domitian and his favourite Paris, the former of whom was buried on the Flaminian, and the latter on the Latin Way. But the allusion seems to me to be more general. Juvenal was not going to confine himself to satirising Domitian and Paris. The *via Flaminia* is mentioned by Martial as a place of sepulture, vi 28 and xi 13, *Quisquis Flaminiam teris viator Noli nobile praeterire marmor.* It has been mentioned above, 61.

INTRODUCTION TO SATIRE II.

THE writer commences with an attack upon some of the demure hypocrites of the age, who, affecting the exterior of philosophers, are given to every kind of secret vice. And these men profess to condemn others! like Domitian, who was re-enacting severe laws against adultery, at the very time that he had an intrigue with his own niece.

He puts into the mouth of one Lauronia a sharp reply to one of these fellows who was crying out about the vices of women. "The men," she says, "are infinitely worse than the women;" and she gives instances of this depravity. And she speaks truth. "There is Creticus, a magistrate, actually proposing laws against immorality in an indecent dress. Some day he will go still further, and join one of those impious and unnatural associations, in which males imitate the secret religious rites, and ape the appearance and manners of women. Men of the highest rank are married to other men, noblemen fight as gladiators in the arena."

If there were in reality an Inferno, how the shades of the glorious old Romans would be disgusted, as often as they were joined by a new-comer of this description. "Alas!" concludes the poet, "though we have conquered nearly the whole world, the vanquished will not imitate us in our depravity, though, indeed, sometimes a young foreigner gets tainted by our vices, and carries back the slime of Rome to his native land. So true it is that evil communications corrupt good manners."

This satire speaks of the conquest of the Orcades 161, and the censorship of Domitian 30 121, as recent events. The former occurred in A.D. 84, and the censorship began at about

the same time. The bulk of the Satire was consequently, in all probability, composed either during the life of Domitian, or shortly after his death; 29–33 look very much like an addition inserted after the last-named event. They would be just as well, or perhaps better, away, as regards the sense. As the Satire stands, it could not possibly have been recited or published till after the tyrant's assassination, and probably, in any case, it did not see the light till he was out of the way.

The first line *may* contain an allusion to the Sarmatian war, which took place A.D. 93, and this date would tally with the other indications.

NOTES TO SATIRE II.

1: *ultra Sauromatas, i.e.*, to the ends of the earth. The *Sauromatae* are mentioned again at xv 125 and iii 79. There were *Sarmatia Europaea* and *Asiatica*, which may be roughly described as Russia in Europe and Russia in Asia. **3**: *Curios*, Marcus Curius Dentatus, the conqueror of Pyrrhus, passed among the Romans for a model of the old-fashioned virtues. He is again alluded to at xi 78, *Curius parvo quae legerat horto Ipse focis brevibus ponebat oluscula*, and more than once by Horace. Compare with this passage, and other touches in the Satire, Mart. i 25, *Aspicis incomptis illum Deciane capillis, Cujus et ipse times triste supercilium Qui loquitur Curios, assertoresque Camillos? Nolito fronti credere, nupsit heri;* and again ix 28. It seems difficult to deny that in these and other passages, one poet must have imitated, perhaps unconsciously, the other, especially as it admits of hardly any doubt that they were friends. Compare also Mart. vi 64, vii 58 and 68, xi 16. *Bacchanalia vivunt;* so Cicero says *Studia illa nostra, quibus antea delectabamur, nunc etiam vivimus*, Ep. ad Fam. xiii 28, "in that studious way." **4**: *primum*. There is no necessity for supplying a *deinde*, cf. 44 and v 12, Plin. Epp. vii 24. *Indocti*, cf. xiii 181 note.

5: *Chrysippus*, the stoic philosopher. **6**: *Aristotelem similem;* Macleane quotes Mart. i 110 for a like use of *similis*. It is also used in the same way by him at vii 87 4, *Si Cronius similem cercopithecon amat, i.e.*, a long-tailed ape, the image of himself; *In avem similem gestiebam*, in the likeness of a bird, after the fashion of a bird, Appul. Met. iii 59; *te similem*, your likeness, Stat. Silv. iii 3 201; *similes ceras*, id. v 1 1. *Pittacus*, one of the seven sages. To set up busts of eminent philosophers is enough to constitute one of these humbugs a top-sawyer among his fellows. **7**: the Romans, like ourselves, were in the habit of putting busts of eminent poets,

&c., on their bookcases: *Hoc tibi sub nostra breve carmen imagine vivat*, Mart. ix 1, and the Ep. to Turanius which follows (*Stertinius*), *qui imaginem meam ponere in bibliotheca sua voluit;* Cicero, Epp. ad Att. iv 10; compare Juv. vii 28 29. *archetypos Cleanthas*, are "originals of Cleanthes." *archetypus*, as an adjective, is found several times in Mart. vii 11, viii 6, xii 69, and the Lemma or heading to xiv 93, *Pocula archetypa. Cleanthes*, the stoic philosopher; some make the busts of Cleanthes guard the bookcases. But cf. iii 206, *Graecos servabat cista libellos. pluteum.* H. Vales. and others read *puteum.* A bust of Cl. might appropriately figure on a well (for he used to draw water), but would one of the people here alluded to be likely to have a well? These men lived probably on the top-story of an *insula*, and got their water from the public tanks. To talk of their putting statues on their wells would be absurd. **8**: *fronti;* another reading is *frontis. Frons* is the outward appearance: *frontis tenerae cupis videri*, Mart. iv 6; *severa Catonis frons*, id. xi 2; *Decipit frons prima multos*, Phaedr. iv 1. **9**: *tristibus obscenis. habet tristis quoque turba cinaedos*, Mart. vii 58. Quintilian (proem to Inst. i) speaks of these sham philosophers much as Juvenal does: *Vultum et tristitiam et dissentientem a caeteris habitum pessimis moribus praetendebant;* and again, *In publico tristes, domi dissoluti*, xii 3. *tristis, tristitia*, signify "gloominess," "a seriousness of a repulsive kind, which shows itself in the countenance and the manner; something of dissatisfaction with men and things," Long. **10**: *Socraticos cinaedos*, the unnatural scoundrels who pretend to be followers of Socrates. It is true that Socrates himself was not a stranger to practices which we should term unnatural; but I do not think the poet had that in his mind here. He speaks of the philosopher elsewhere with great respect, xiii 185, xiv 320. **11**: *hispida membra. Sunt tibi crura pilis et sunt tibi pectora setis Horrida, sed mens est Pannice vulsa tibi*, Mart. ii 36; see also id. vi 56 and ix 48. **12**: *levi*, depilated, viii 16 and 114 notes. **13**: Mart. vi 37, xii 97 9. Whether the unnatural practices hinted at are calculated to bring on the complaint mentioned, is a question on which we are, of course, content to remain ignorant. If not, the sense will be that the man, happening to have the piles, has to get lanced, and

then his effeminacy is exhibited to the doctor. But the former is probably intended, and the position of the words (with the emphasis on *mariscae*) points to it. **15**: cf. Mart. i 25, quoted at 3, and xi 2. The stoics cut their hair short: *detonsa juventus*, Pers. iii 54; *Asperitas agrestis et inconcinna gravisque Quae se commendat tonsa cute dentibus atris. Dum vult libertas dici mera, veraque virtus*, Hor. Ep. i 18 6. **16**: *Peribomius* is some one who does not mince matters, but proclaims himself what he is. The poet says he prefers a man of this sort, who is simply a kind of madman. The name has been derived from περὶ and βωμός, one about the altar, a dissolute priest. **17**: *imputo*, v 14 note. A man like this, who makes no pretence to decency, is hardly a responsible being. I lay his sins to the charge of the Fates. *morbum*, his unnatural, depraved taste. So at 50, *morbo pallet utroque*, and ix 49, *jam nec morbo donare parati*. Seneca says, *Impudicus morbum confitetur ac publicat.* Similarly νόσος in Greek. Compare, Hor. Od. i 37 9. *incessuque fatetur;* these wretched creatures moved in such a way as to advertise their filthy pursuits. *Turpe incedere* is said by Catullus to be a mark of prostitutes, 42 8; and *incessus compositus* occurs in the same sense in Petronius, 126; *gressus delicatus et languidus*, Phaedr. v 1 13; *Habitune et incessu, an illo muliebri ornatu mereretur imperium?* (of Otho), Tac. Hist. i 30; *Impudicum . . . incessus ostendit*, Sen. Epp. 52; and probably these men imitated, in some way, the movements of the other sex. **18**: *simplicitas*, frankness, outspokenness, as at i 153, only here, of course, in a bad sense. **21**: *Varillus*, a name formed, as Heinrich observes, from *varus*, straddling, Hor. Sat. ii 3 56; the same root as *varix*, whence our "varicose." Here it is the name of some imaginary profligate, who retorts upon *Sextus* (put for a senator, or person of distinction), "Why should I be in awe of you? You are as bad as I am;" or, as we should say, "Those who live in glass houses should not throw stones." cf. Cic. Verr. Act. ii. Lib. 3, c. 2, which may have been in Juvenal's mind; also Id. ad Div. viii 14, ad fin. where the same idea is expressed. And again, Sen. de Ira. ii 28. **23**: *loripedem*, Gr. ἱμαντόπους, thong-footed; some sort of malformation, which caused the person afflicted to drag his foot along

the ground, instead of lifting it up; *loripedes . . . quibus serpendo ingredi natura est*, Plin. H. N. v 8; and *gentem . . . anguium modo loripedem*, H. N. vii 2. **25**: cf. vi 283, Val. Flacc. i 586, *maria omnia coelo Miscuit*, Virg. Aen. v 790. Virgil himself imitates Lucret. iii 854, *Non si terra mari miscebitur et mare coelo.* Livy puts the expression into the mouth of a speaker four centuries and a half before Christ, *Quid tandem est cur coelum ac terras misceant*, iv 3, when it was doubtless quite unknown. **26**: *Verres*, whose extortions in Sicily have been made known to us in Cicero's Orations. *Milo*, the murderer of Clodius, 27, defended by Cicero. **27**: *Clodius*, see vi 337–345, where he is again introduced. Catiline and Cethegus are named together again at viii 231 and x 287.

28: Martial speaks of Antony as *levius tabula quam Cicerone nocens*, *i.e.*, doing less harm by the whole of the rest of his proscription list than by the murder of Cicero alone. The *discipuli tres* are the second triumvirate, Octavius, Antony, and Lepidus. **29**: Domitian is now introduced unmistakably for the first time in these Satires. The allusion here is to his intrigue with his niece Julia, the daughter of Titus, whose husband he put to death. She subsequently died from the effect of drugs taken to procure abortion, Suet. Domit. 22. At this very time he was enforcing with increased stringency the Lex Julia de Adulteriis, *leges revocabat amaras*, 30 and below 37. A contemporary of Juvenal describes this monster in terms very similar, *Nec minore scelere, quam quod ulcisci videbatur, absentem inauditamque (Corneliam) damnavit incesti, cum ipse fratris filiam incesto non polluisset solum verumetiam occidisset. Nam vidua abortu periit*, Plin. Epp. iv 11. **30, 31**: Macleane takes *omnibus* with *amaras*, "bitter to all." I prefer taking it with *timendas*. **31**: The story of Venus and Mars, detected in their intrigue by Vulcan, is related by Ovid. Met. iv 171 sqq. **32**: *abortivis* is here probably ' means of abortion," as at vi 368; but it might mean "embryos," "opened her womb to so many embryos;" cf. iv 67 note, where a similar choice of renderings may be offered. **34**: *vitia ultima*, the most depraved of men, *vitiosissimi*, not *vitiosissimae*, as Heinrich takes it. The reference is to the illustration he has given above, 21 22, Varillus retorting

upon Sextus. The abstract for the concrete, a very common usage in Greek and Latin; see i 110 note for instances in Juvenal. **35**: *Scauros;* probably only one person is alluded to here (cf. viii 11 note), M. Aemilius Scaurus, the elder. There were two well-known personages of the same name, father and son; but it is difficult to suppose that the son could be held up as a model. In Hor. Od. i 12 37, however, we have *Regulum et Scauros animaque magna Prodigum Paulum,* where it would seem that both are intended. However that may be, the elder Scaurus is highly praised by Cicero, *Ecquem hominem vidimus . . . parem consilio, gravitate, constantia, caeteris virtutibus . . . M. Aemilio Scauro fuisse,* Pro. Font. 7. This, and perhaps the passage in Horace, may have furnished Juvenal with his illustration, for he was evidently a reader and admirer of Cicero and Horace. The Scauri are again introduced favourably at vi 604 and xi 91.

36: *Lauronia;* another reading is *Laronia*, which Heinrich prefers. There is a Laronia (or Lauronia, for there, too, the MSS. differ) spoken of by Martial as *orba, dives, anus, vidua,* ii 32 6. **37**: Domitian, as mentioned above, re-enacted the Lex Julia: *Julia lex ex quo populis Faustine renata est Atque intrare domos jussa pudicitia est,* Mart. vi 7; cf. Stat. Silv. v 2 102. That it was sometimes put in force in Trajan's reign is shown by Pliny, Epp. vi 31. *Non tulit clamantem,* "would not stand his crying out," as we should say; like *Quis tulerit Gracchos querentes?* above, 24. **40**: *Tertius Cato;* this is like *Stertinius sapientum octavus* in Horace, Sat. ii 3 296. Cato the Censor and Cato Uticensis are the two alluded to. Everything of extraordinary merit was figured as having come down from heaven. *Coelone peractum fluxit opus?* exclaims Statius at sight of Domitian's equestrian statue, Silv. i 1 2. So, *omnes . . . Cn. Pompeium sicut aliquem . . . de caelo delapsum intuentur,* Cic. de Imp. Cn. Pomp. 14; and he hopes that his brother will appear to the Greeks *de caelo divinum hominem esse in provinciam delapsum.* Ad Quint. Fr. i 1. **41**: *opobalsama* are mentioned by Martial, xi 8 and xiv 59, where, however, they are spoken of with more favour, *Balsama me capiunt, haec sunt unguenta virorum.* They were the juice (ὀπός) of the balsam-tree, and appear to have been the same as the

balm of Gilead of Scripture. Pliny has a long account of the tree and its produce, H. N. xii 25. He describes it as a plant indigenous to Judaea, from which country it was introduced by Vespasian. It paid tribute. The perfume was more highly prized than any other. A very similar account will be found in Strabo, xvi 2 16 and 41. **43**: *vexantur*, "are to be disturbed," refers to *dormis* at 37; compare i 126, *noli vexare, quiescit.* **44**: the *Lex Scantinia* was a law against unnatural offences. According to Suetonius, Domit. c 8, Domitian revived this law, and some people were condemned on the strength of it. But, looking at the state of Roman society, it is difficult to suppose that it could ever have been seriously enforced in the times of the heathen emperors. The first *i*, which is long here, is short in Ausonius: *Scantiniam metuis*, Ep. 89. **46**: *umbone; In turbam incideris, cunctos umbone repellet*, Mart. iii 46; *junctis umbonibus umbo*, Silius, iv 354. **47**: *magna—concordia*, "Birds of a feather flock together," as we say. **49, 50**: *Tedia, Cluvia, Flora, Catulla*, are put for prostitutes. *Hispo* is any wretch given to unnatural propensities. A senator of that name is mentioned by Pliny, Ep. iv 9. *morbo*, cf. 17 note. I have not here or elsewhere closely translated passages which are not presentable to the modern reader. *pallet*. *Palleat omnis amans; hic est color aptus amanti*, Ov. This man's "pallor" is evidence of more than one kind of lust. **51** sqq: in the sixth satire we shall find Juvenal giving a very different account of the Roman ladies from that which he here puts into the mouth of Lauronia, and representing a great number of them as doing the very things which she affirms to be the extravagances of a few. But the sixth satire is, in all probability, the work of maturer years, and the second, one of the poet's earliest essays in the same style; internal evidence has led nearly all the commentators to this conclusion. In youth he would naturally be the champion of the fair sex. **53**: *comedunt coliphia paucae.* Martial makes Philaenis, a woman, eat a good many of them, *coliphia sexdecim comedit*, vii 67. The word appears again in Plautus, Pers. i 3 12, *Collyrae facite ut madeant et coliphia: Ne mihi incocta detis;* where Weise renders *panes recenti caseo commixti—i.e.*, a sort of cheese-cakes.

Forcellini gives a different sense to the word. We do not know what they were; but they appear, from the context, to have been a kind of food more fitted for men than women, and very likely in favour with the athletes. **54–56**: *trahere* must be here "to card." The wool when carded, *vellera peracta*, would be put into baskets, *calathis*, ready for spinning, 54, 56. Compare Catull. lxiv 319 sqq, *Ante pedes autem candentis mollia lanae Vellera virgati custodibant calathisci. Hae tum clarisona pellentes vellera voce etc.*; in which passage the whole process of spinning is described. Ov. Met. iv 10. **57**: *pellex*, a married man's mistress, and she was so called in respect to the man's wife, vi 272: *Non maritus sed uxor pellicem habere dicitur*, Forcellini; and Aul. Gell. defines it, *Pellicem autem eam appellatam probrosamque habitam quae juncta consuetaque esset cum eo in cujus manu mancipioque alia matrimonii causa foret*, iv 3. But it came, in time, to signify a mistress generally. *codex* was a log of wood to which slaves were chained by way of punishment: *Codicis immundi vincula sentit anus*, Propert. iv 7 44. Here the *pellex* may be supposed to have been detected and punished by her mistress. **58**: there is a *Hister* mentioned again at xii 111 as a legacy-hunter. **59**: *puellae*, his virgin-wife. Compare ix 70 sqq and Mart xii 98, *Uxor cum tibi sit puella. Puella* and *virgo* are often used for young brides: *Te senes parci miseraeque nuper Virgines nuptae (metuunt)*, Hor. Od. ii 8 21; *Vos O pueri et puellae Jam virum expertae*, Od. iii 14 10, and Juv. vi 258. But here the meaning is more definite. **60**: *sine ulla controversia vel dissensione, tribus nobis in uno conveniat lectulo*, says the husband in Appuleius, Met. ix 196. **61**: *tu;* "Do you then, young lady," &c.; the word is not addressed to the sham philosopher. *cylindros*, precious stones cut in this form, Pliny, xxxvii 5. Probably worn by women as ear-rings. Tertull. de Cult. Fem. speaks of their being placed in the handles of swords.

65: *Stoicidae*, "My little stoics," as we should say: a term of contempt. **66**: *multicia*, some sort of thin garments. The precise substance is unknown. I have translated "gauze." **67**: *Creticus* is used again, viii 38, for a man of great family and position. The names which follow are those of married women guilty of adultery. *Procula*

occurs again at iii 203, but in an entirely different connection. **70**: *togam;* the *toga*, in place of the stola, appears from several passages to have been the dress of prostitutes, and it seems that married women convicted of adultery were sometimes condemned to wear it. Horace opposes *matrona* to *ancilla togata*, Sat. i 2 63, and again 81 82, *tenerum est femur aut crus Rectius atque etiam melius persaepe togatae est. Coccina famosae donas et ianthina moechae Vis dare quae meruit munera? mitte togam*, Mart. ii 39. *Thelin viderat in toga spadonem, Damnatam Numa dixit esse moecham*, x 52. Compare also Mart. i 36, vi 64 4, and Cic. Phil. ii 18 44, where *toga* and *stola* are contrasted. The sense here is, "Adulteress as she is proved to be, and condemned to wear a toga, she would shrink, even in her degradation, from wearing such an indecent garment as that of yours." **71**: *nudus agas, &c.*; the sense is, "Better strip stark-naked at once, and plead in that state; for then everybody would believe you to be mad, and the disgrace would be less." By reading *infamia*, for *insania*, Heinrich appears to me entirely to destroy the sense of this passage. Compare Mart. vi 77, *Rideris multoque magis traduceris Afer Quam nudus medio si spatiere foro*, where *nudus* means "naked," and not merely "one dressed in a tunic only," as it does in some places, and as Heinrich takes it here. **72—74**: "A pretty dress for the old Romans, our glorious ancestors, to have seen you in!" The *montanum vulgus* may refer to the early inhabitants of the Palatine Hill, the most anciently settled part of Rome. "Its citizens were long called *Montani*, and the term Mount, while applied to the other heights belonging to the city, was above all, associated with the Palatine." Mommsen's "History of Rome," Book i. chap. iv. Or the poet may have used "mountaineer" merely in the sense of "rough, primitive." Compare vi 58, xi 89 159. *modo* is not here *vix*, "barely," as some render, but "recently," as below 160. This is, moreover, indicated by *vulneribus crudis*. *positis aratris* might mean that they would have left their ploughing to look at him. The warriors returning from the wars, with their wounds yet unhealed, would stop on their way: the old Romans would lay down their ploughs to listen to and to gaze at Creticus, proposing laws in such an attire. But the better sense is, "those

mountaineers who left their ploughs," Macleane. *Jura dabat populis posito modo consul aratro*, Ov. Fast. i 207. **75**: for the precise functions of a Roman *Judex*, see Dict. G. and R. Ant. **77**: *libertatis magister; libertas* seems to mean here that freedom from the dominion of the passions which was claimed for themselves by the stoics, and *magister* may be either "you who are a master of your own freedom," or "you who are a professor, teacher, of philosophical *libertas*." *magister* is used in this sense at 114. *acer et indomitus*. Lucan has the same expression, Phars. i 146. **78**: *perluces, perlucidus*, of an effeminate man, Sen. de Const. Sap. 18; and this practice of wearing transparent dresses is often alluded to by him: *Quid si contigisset illi videre has nostri temporis telas, quibus vestis nihil celatura conficitur, in qua non dico nullum corpori auxilium, sed nullum pudori est?* Sen. Epp. 90; and he expresses himself in almost the same words, De Benef. vii 9, and again Cons. Helvid. 16. *Vestis quae nihil amplius nudaret, cum poneretur.* **80**: Mr. Evans seems to think that *grex* cannot apply to pigs, and has introduced a sheep, "the scab of a sheep, or pigs from mange;" but this is a mistake. **81**: "And a grape contracts a taint by the mere sight of another grape." A poetical image, identical with that of the proverb quoted by the scholiast on this verse, *uva uvam videndo varia fit*. This does not seem difficult to understand as a metaphorical expression, but Heinrich has succeeded in giving a literal and prosaic aspect to the line, by reading *contacta;* cf. Mart. x 74 10 11.

82: "You will go on from bad to worse if you take to that dress," Macleane. The meaning, I think, is, "You will one day dare something even worse *than* that dress." *Foedius aliquid audebis*, as *aliquid de moribus audent*, 2. **83**: *fuit*. Heinrich and Ruperti (and Macleane) read *venit* in the sense of *evenit*, on the strength of vii 29: *Ut dignus venias hederis et imagine macra.* I am quite satisfied with *fuit*, which is the reading of nearly all the MSS. It is an aorist, as *posuere* at 85. The same sentiment occurs in Sen. Agamem. 153, *Extrema primo nemo tentavit loco.* The poet then describes the proceedings of a certain club or society, whose amusement it seems to have been to parody the rites of Bona Dea, to which only women were admitted, men being rigidly excluded, vi 336 sqq. Similarly

this crew excluded women. *Accipient te,* "You will be getting into company," as we say. **85**: *tereti pendent redimicula collo,* Calp. vi 38. **86. 87**: *Bona Dea,* a Roman divinity, the sister, wife, or daughter of Faunus, cf. Macrob. Sat. i 12, who identifies *Bona Dea* with *Terra,* and speaks of the sacrifice of a sow. **88**: *exagitata,* driven away, Ov. Her. iii 77. "To exagitate" was used in English in the same sense. Hooker, in his "Ecclesiastical Polity," says of the Scotch Kirk, "We must not exagitate them." **90**: *cornu* must not here be confounded with "a horn." It means the pipe, which was frequently made of the material "horn," as our flutes of silver, &c.: *adunco tibia cornu,* Ov. Met. iii 533; *inflato Berecynthia tibia cornu,* id. xi 16, Juv. vi 315. **91**: *Cotytto* was a Thracian divinity, the patroness of all sorts of licentiousness, Hor. Epod. 17 56. The name Baptae (βάπται) was given to those who celebrated her rites, from the purifications which were originally connected with the ceremony. *Cecropiam, i.e.,* Athenian, from Cecrops, the first king of Attica. Her worship had been introduced into Athens and Corinth. **93**: *fuligine,* soot. *Oculos fuligine porrigunt,* says Tertullian. **94**: *producit.* The eyebrows were artificially lengthened, so as to meet over the nose, which was considered a great beauty by the ancients; Ov. A. A. iii 201, Petron. 127. *acu. Punctaque lasciva quae terebrantur acu,* Mart xi 45 6. **94, 95**: *trem. ocul.* cf. vii 241, opposed to the ὄμμα ἥσυχον, of the Greeks. But it may mean here only "trembling under the operation." **95**: *vitreo Priapo,* a glass of obscene shape; and so cakes were made in this form. *Priapus siligineus,* Mart. xiv 69. **96**: *tortos servat vesica capillos,* Mart. viii 33 19. *reticulum aureum* is mentioned as worn by women, Petron. 67. **97**: *scutulata* were dresses of a lozenge-shaped pattern—checks, plaids, as we might perhaps call them. Pliny applies the word to cobwebs, *scutulato rete,* H. N. xi 24. See also H. N. viii 48, where he says they came from Gaul. They were doubtless in favour with women. *galbina. Galbino succincta cingillo,* Petron. 67. **98**: Juno was the goddess of women, what his *genius* was to the man. They are so distinguished in Plin. H. N. ii 7, Sen. Epp. 110, &c. *Natalis Juno sanctos cape thuris acervos,* Tibull. iv 6 1. *Juno mea* is the oath of a woman in Petron. 25.

Here the man, the more completely to imitate the other sex, has taken Juno for his genius, and his servant, following his lead, swears by the goddess. **99** : *speculum ;* the mirrors of the Romans were for the most part of metal, and could be carried in the hand. Martial describes a detractor as *patris ad speculum tonsi matrisque togatae Filius,* vi 64 4. *pathici Othonis.* So *mollis Otho,* Mart. vi 32 2. His effeminacy is described by Suetonius. Tacitus, however, gives an entirely different account of his last march, describing him as *horridus, incomptus, famaeque dissimilis,* Hist. ii 11, i 21 22. These lines are a parody on two passages of Virgil, *Clipeum magni gestamen Abantis,* Aen. iii 286, and (*Turnus*) *validam vi corripit hastam Actoris Aurunci spolium,* Aen. xii 93. Observe the force of the imperfect in *videbat.* **101** : *tolli vexilla* alludes to the taking up of the standards as the signal for the engagement. *Tollite jampridem victricia, tollite signa,* Lucan. i 347. **102, 103** : This construction (with *est* left out) is common in Juvenal, cf. viii 198 199. *Signatae tabulae,* 119 below. **104** : *Galbam.* Juvenal seems to have looked on Galba with some degree of favour, vi 559, viii 222. This may have been owing to the fact that Vespasian, the founder of the Flavian dynasty, destroyed his statue, from a belief that Galba had intended to assassinate him. It has also been suggested that one ground for this partiality may have been that Galba recalled Thrasea from banishment, cf. v 36. Juvenal probably hated the whole Flavian family, typified, in his eyes, by Domitian. Nowhere is a line of praise given to Vespasian or Titus. **105** : *curare cutem. curata cuticula sole,* Pers. iv 18. Both passages (as Coningt. remarks) being perhaps borrowed from Hor. Ep. i 2 29 and 4 18. **106** : *Bebriacum,* or *Bedriacum,* was situated between Verona and Cremona. Not far from here was fought the decisive battle between the troops of Vitellius and Otho, which ended in the defeat and death of the latter, A.D. 69. **108** : *Semiramis,* one of the mythical founders of Nineveh, was celebrated for her voluptuousness, Ov. Am. i 5 11. **109** : *Cleopatra,* the Egyptian queen, defeated by Augustus at Actium. There is force in Heinrich's observation that *moesta* is out of place here. Cleopatra would not be *moesta* till after she was defeated and flying, and then

she would not be likely to pay extraordinary attention to her personal appearance. He suspects the monks have altered *moecha* into *moesta*, and quotes Propert. iii 11 39, *meretrix regina Canopi*, and Plin. H. N. ix 35, *regina meretrix;* cf. Juv. x 84 note; but *moesta* may be a conventional epithet, as *imbellis* in Virg. Georg. ii 172, *Imbellem avertis Romanis arcibus Indum*. **110**: *reverentia*, "respect for:" *Salva sit artoplae reverentia*, v 72; *maxima debetur puero reverentia*, xiv 47; *reverentia legum*, xiv 177. **111**: *Cybele*, or Rhea, the great Phrygian goddess, whose worship was introduced into Rome during the second Punic war. *fracta voce. infracta vox* is similarly used, Aul. Gell. iii 5, and is coupled with *capillus compositus* and *oculi ludibundi*, an effeminate voice. **116**: the *Galli*, or priests of Cybele (whose name we shall meet with further on, and so called from Gallus, a river in Galatia, Plin. H. N. v 32, Ov. Fast. iv 361), were eunuchs, Plin. H. N. xi 49; cf. Juv. vi 512 513 514, and Mart. iii 81 3. *Abscissa est quare Samia tibi mentula testa?* **119**: *feliciter*, "Good luck to them!" a common exclamation. "*Feliciter*" *subclamant*, Phaedr. v 1. **120**: Juvenal here changes to the present in *sedet*, see notes to i 155. Gracchus "brings" the *quadringenta sestertia* in our idiom; *bis quingenta dedit* (*Caesennia*), vi 137. **121**: *censore* seems to be an allusion to Domitian, iv 12 note. **122**: *horreres*, "Would you be more horrified?" as though it were written *magis horreres*, the comparative force in *majora* following being attracted to the preceding word. This is very common. Two examples have been given in the notes to this Satire: *tenerum est femur aut crus Rectius atque etiam melius persaepe togatae est*, Hor. Sat. i 2 81; and again, *Rideris multoque magis traduceris Afer Quam nudus medio si spatiere foro*, Mart. vi 77. **123**: the ancients looked for *monstrosi hominum partus*, Lucan. i 562; *insolitos animalium partus*, Tac. Hist. i 86, among the other prodigies which generally preceded disasters. *bos* is common. An ox bringing forth a lamb would no doubt be a greater prodigy—if prodigies admit of comparison—than a cow doing the same; but here a cow seems to be meant. **124**: *flammea*, cf. vi 225: *Praeluxere faces, velarunt flammea vultus*, Mart. xii 42 3. **126**: *clipeis ancilibus*. These *ancilia*

were the shields sacred to Mars, which the Salii or priests of Mars carried through the city, hung to their necks by a leathern thong (see woodcut, art. "Salii," Dict. G. and R. Ant.) on the Kalends of March. *Anciliorum et nominis et togae oblitus*, Hor. Od. iii 5 10. cf. Ov. Fast. iii 371 sqq. See note to Juv. vi 604 on the *Salii*. **128**: *Gradivus* is a name of Mars, and the field mentioned below is the Campus Martius. For *Latiis pastoribus*, compare viii 275. *galeam quassare*, as a sign of impatience, occurs in Valer. Flacc. vii 577 578, of which this may be a reminiscence; and compare *seu posita respirat cuspide Mavors*, Stat. Theb. vii 10. **131**: *officium*, a complimentary attendance, as in vi 203, *labente officio*, and in Plin. Epp. i 9, *Officio togae virilis interfui*, "I attended at the ceremony of assuming the *toga virilis*;" Juv. iii 126 239, v 13. Hence it came to mean "attentions" generally: *Gratissimum experior quod officiorum nostrorum meminisse eum scribas*, Plin. Epp. vii 15, a sense which survives in our "good offices:" *Officium nuptiale*, Petron. 25. **134**: *nubit*, the word applied to women. Martial alludes, in several of his epigrams, to these disgraceful marriages, i 25, xii 42. **135**: *liceat modo vivere*, "If our lives are only spared." This seems to have been a common form of expression: *Modo liceat vivere, est spes*, Ter. Heaut. Tim. v 2 28; *vivam modo, plura dolebis*, Ov. Rem. Am. 391. **135, 136**: *fient Fient.* For a similar repetition at the beginning of a line, of the word ending the preceding line, thus adding force and emphasis to the expression, compare v 112 113, vi 279 280, viii 147 148, Pers. iii 41 42. **136**: *acta*. The *acta diurna*, "a gazette published daily at Rome by the authority of the Government during the later times of the Republic, and under the Empire, corresponding in some measure to our newspapers," Dict. G. and R. Ant. and Becker's "Gallus," which should be consulted for further details, also Friedländer, Fr. ed. vol. i p. 69. Unfortunately no genuine specimen of these *acta diurna* has come down to us. A curious one, evidently fictitious, is given in Oudendorp's edition of Suetonius J. Caes. 20; cf. Juv. ix 84, vii 104. **137, 138**: the same idea is to be found in Mart. xii 42, quoted above, as having been written on the subject of one of these marriages: *Dos etiam dicta est;*

nondum tibi Roma videtur Hoc satis? exspectas numquid ut et pariat? **139**: *Di melius. Sed melius*, the other reading, seems tame. **140**: *indulgere*, with an accusative of the thing and a dative of the person, in the sense of to give, grant, allow, is very common in Juvenal and his contemporaries; but not in earlier writers, who use *indulgere alicui* or *aliquem*, but not *indulgere aliquid alicui*. **141**: *Lyde* is any fat old woman who sells drugs to cure barrenness; *pyxide* is the box that contained them. At xiii 25 we have the same word used for poison-box, *partos gladio vel pyxide nummos*. *Turgida* is a little touch, like *pinguis Lateranus*, viii 147, quite after the manner of the poet. **142**: *Luperco*, cf. Dict. G. and R. Ant. article "Lupercalia." It was the festival held once a year (on February 15) in honour of Lupercus, the god of fertility. Two noble youths ran about, with goat-skins cut into thongs, striking those whom they met. Such as were struck were supposed to be rendered fruitful. Of course women who wanted children, and who believed in the superstition (as, doubtless, most women did), would naturally get in their way. This is one of the heathen practices against which the fathers warn the Christian women. *Luperco* may be either the god or his priests. I prefer the former, as more in accordance with Juvenal's manner.

143: the appearance of the nobility in the arena excites the ire of our author. In viii 189 sqq. he inveighs against their appearance on the public stage as actors in farces; and at 200 again adverts to the subject of his present indignation; cf. iv 99 100. *fuscina* was a trident with which one kind of gladiator called the *retiarius* (from his carrying a net) was furnished. He was lightly armed, *tunicatus*, wearing his tunic and no armour. His object was to throw his net over the head of his antagonist, who was usually a *secutor* or *mirmillo*, and if he failed in his attempt, he ran away, with his adversary at his heels, and prepared for a second cast; see woodcut in Dict. G. and R. Ant. article "Gladiatores." On the tomb of Scaurus at Pompeii were found bas-reliefs of this kind of combat, and it has been graphically described in Lord Lytton's novel, "The Last Days of Pompeii." **145–148**: the *Capitolini*, the family name of several Roman gentes;

Marcelli, an illustrious plebeian family of the Claudian gens; *Catuli*, a family of the Lutatia gens, of whom a great illustration was the Catulus mentioned at viii 253; *Pauli* were of the Aemilia gens; *Fabii*, another well-known family often spoken of by Juvenal, viii 14, xi 90, &c.; cf. Dict. G. and R. Biog. These names are introduced illustratively, as we should say, "a man more noble than all the Howards, Stanleys, Cecils, Churchills," &c. The *podium* contained the reserved seats for persons of distinction, and was next to the arena, after the fashion of our "orchestra stalls." It may still be seen in the theatres at Pompeii. *his licet ipsum*, &c., is ironical. The person who gave the show (*munus*) was often of very low origin, iii 36 note; and if *ipse* means the emperor, the same observation applies, the Flavia gens being, as Suetonius remarks, Vespas. 1 *obscura ac sine ullis majorum imaginibus.* **149—152**: *dic, quaeso, num te illa terrent, triceps apud inferos Cerberus Cocyti fremitus, transvectio Acherontis etc.*, Cic. Tusc. Quaest i 5, and cf. for the same sentiment Tusc. Q. i 21, de Nat. Deor. ii 2, De Divin ii 15, &c., Cluent. 61, &c. (Another reading for *et contum* in this place is *Cocytum.*) *Cerberus et furiae jam vero et lucis egestas . . . Qui neque sunt usquam nec possunt esse profecto*, Lucret. iii 1011. Seneca too has something very like this, *Nemo tam puer est, ut Cerberum timeat et tenebras*, etc., Epp. 24 Troad, 404 sqq., &c., and compare Propertius iii 5 39 sqq. *aliquos manes* is the better reading, though Propert. has *sunt aliquid manes*, iv 7 1 and Ovid. *omina sunt aliquid* Am. i 12 3. *Si numina Divum Sunt aliquid*, Met. vi 543. **152**: *nec* as *nequidem*. Madv. Lat. gr. § 457. *qui nondum aere lavantur*, "who are too young to be taken to the public baths." The usual charge was a quadrans, about half a farthing. Hence *res quadrantaria* of a bath. **153**: *sed tu vera puta*, "but suppose them to be true," "suppose for the sake of argument;" so used v 7, also Hor. Sat. ii 5 32, Ov. Met. xiv 488. This, from the context, is clearly the meaning, and not, as Gifford, Evans, and others render, "but be thou persuaded that these things are true." "That there are manes, and subterraneous realms, and Charon's pole, and frogs, and one bark to carry over so many thousands of people, not even little children believe now-a-days. Nevertheless, do you be-

lieve in them?" This would be a very strange mode of introducing the announcement of the writer's belief in a future state, which we may be sure Juvenal never would have had the bad taste to adopt. The theological opinions of the commentators have evidently biassed their interpretation; and, yet, I do not understand from this passage, with some, that the poet ridicules all idea of a future life, but merely that he laughs at the mythology of his time, as he seldom fails to do, when the occasion arises. Seneca, just quoted, certainly did not deny the immortality of the soul. Nor did Cicero. Juvenal says, "Suppose our popular Inferno to be true, with Charon, &c., how would these fellows be received when they got there? The honest shades would have to call for sulphur," &c. In III 264—267 the poet again treats the fable of Charon in a jocose vein. *Curius.* cf. 3. *Scipiadae.* Scipio Africanus major and minor. *Fabricius*, the opponent of Pyrrhus. *Camillus* saved the city from the Gauls. The *Fabii*, three hundred in number, were defeated and slain by the Veientes at the river *Cremera* in Etruria B.C. 477. *Cannae*, the great battle in which Hannibal defeated the Romans. *Juventus* here, in its proper sense, the fighting population, the men of military age. **156**: *tot bellorum animae.* Ruperti takes *bellorum* for *bellatorum.* Macleane says, he is wrong. I am not so sure of that. *triumpho* is used for *triumphanti* in xi 194. *tot* may be taken with *bellorum* or *animae;* I prefer the former. *tot bellorum victores*, Tac. Hist. ii 28. *tot bellorum superstitem* Ann. ii 71. *fortes animas, belloque peremptas*, Lucan i 447. **157**: Lustration consisted in the sprinkling of water, by means of a branch of laurel or olive, and the burning of certain materials, such as sulphur, or pine torches, the smoke of which was supposed to have a purifying effect, Dict. G. and R. Ant. "Lustratio." **159**: *Illuc heu miseri traducimur*, "To such a pitch of degradation have we been brought!" As to this sense of *traducere*, cf. viii 17 note. The words may refer to what has preceded, and to what follows, as well. **160**: The Romans never conquered, nor even seem to have explored, *Iuverna* Ireland. But this is a figurative way of speaking, and probably the exact situation of Ireland was not known to Juvenal. The Orkney Isles had, at any rate, been discovered and taken

possession of by Agricola A.D. 84. **161**: *minima contentos nocte Britannos. Nox clara et extrema Britanniae parte brevis, ut finem atque initium lucis exiguo discrimine internoscas,* Tac. Agr. 12. **163**: sqq. Reference is here made to some event, like Gracchus's marriage above, not otherwise known. **164**: *cunctis*, i. q., *cunctis caeteris*, as often. *rimatus frondosum fustem cunctis vastiorem*, Appul. iii 61, where, as elsewhere, the writers of some of the MSS. have interpolated *caeteris*. Cf. Juv. viii 97 and xi 66 *toto grege mollior*. **164**: *ephebis* is a word taken from the Greek, and is here, I think, applied to the companions of Zalates, who were Orientals. I do not think the meaning is "more soft than any of the Roman youth," for that could hardly be said. They were foreigners, and Juvenal uses a term of foreign origin in speaking of them. As for their being worse than the Roman youth, the poet is, on the contrary, urging that if they stay long enough, not Zalates alone, but the rest of them, will take back *praetextatos mores*, "the manners of the young Romans." **168**: compare ix 130, *numquam pathicus tibi deerit amicus*. Similarly at iii 303, *deerit* is a dissyl.: so *deesse* in Lucret. i 43, and *deeraverat* in Virg. Buc. vii. 7 &c. **169**: *braccae*, "breeches" Cf. Dict. G. and R. Ant., where an engraving is given. Tacitus calls them *barbarum tegmen*, Hist. ii 20. *barbara tegmina crurum*, Aen. xi 777. **169**: *mittentur* "will be sent to the right about," as we should say. They will abandon their native costume and their manly sports. Heinrich takes *mittentur* to mean "will be sent them as presents (by their lovers);" but this seems to me certainly wrong. **170**: *nostra vitia late vagantur*, says Pliny, Epp. iv 22. Some render, "So Artaxata imitates the manners," &c.; in which case Artaxata will be the nominative. For *referre*, to recall, imitate, cf. i 66. I prefer the translation I have given, as most in harmony with the context. *referunt* is "they carry home." *domum haec ab aede Veneris refero vasa*, Plaut. Poen. iv 2 25. *laudem et spolia ampla refertis*, Virg. Aen. iv 93.

INTRODUCTION TO SATIRE III.

THE poet, designing to satirize the vices and incommodities of the city, represents himself as walking to one of its gates, with a friend, one Umbricius, who is leaving Rome. They halt in the valley of Egeria outside, and Umbricius states the reasons which have led to his departure.

The city offers no field for honest industry. It is infested by a herd of low upstarts, ready to turn their hands to anything for gain, and for them it is a very suitable residence. *I* am unskilled in these ignoble arts, and have determined to retire into the country. The place is full of Greeks and Orientals of all kinds, and the Romans have taken to imitate them. These Greeks are the grossest adulators in the world, and a race of actors. They creep into great houses and acquire influence for their own base ends. They inform against their best friends, if it suits their purpose. Moreover, what can the poor gain by their complimentary attendance on the great, in a town where rich men themselves play the part of toadies and fortune-hunters? Money is everything in Rome. The poor are exposed to every kind of insult, ridicule and inconvenience.

The country is far preferable. There you don't have the spectacle of houses falling in and fires, in which the poor man loses his all and is reduced to beggary, while the rich man gets presents enough from those who court his favour, to enable him to build a new house. A modest retreat can be purchased in the country for the same sum that it takes to hire a dark garret in the town. Then, who can sleep in Rome, but the wealthy? Such a noise and clatter is there in the streets all night long. The great are conveyed quite comfortably wherever they want to go, in their palanquins, while the humble pedestrian has to battle with the crowd,

and gets hustled and knocked about, and trampled upon and crushed to death. Then consider too the danger of things falling on your head from the tops of the houses; the midnight encounter with drunken young aristocrats, who beat and pummel the unfortunate plebeian, without mercy; not to speak of the chance of being stuck by a footpad, and other perils too numerous to mention.

Here the waggon containing Umbricius' furniture comes up, and the friends part, Umbricius concluding with an offer to leave Cumae (the destined place of his retirement) and to visit Juvenal at Aquinum, when next he goes there, for the purpose of assisting him in his Satires.

"This Satire," says Macleane, "may have been written about the same time as the last; but it is impossible to say." This really sums up all that can be said, with any advantage, on the subject. It has been supposed that *siccandam eluviem* at 32, and 307, refer to the works undertaken by the Emperor Trajan in the Pomptine Marshes, but this is very doubtful. If *Isaeus*, 74, as is probable, refer to the person mentioned by the younger Pliny, we should have a faint indication that that passage at all events was not written before the reign of Nerva. For Pliny Epp. ii 3, evidently speaks of Isaeus as newly arrived in Rome: *magna Isaeum fama praecesserat major inventus est*, and in the epistle next but one preceding he refers to the public funeral of Virginius Rufus. Now, Virginius Rufus died in A.D. 97. This indication would indeed be of more value if Pliny had not expressly told us that he did not profess to observe any order of time in publishing his collection of letters.

The Satire, like several others, has, I think, been added to at subsequent periods by the author.

NOTES TO SATIRE III.

1: The poet supposes a friend of his, one Umbricius, to be leaving Rome, in disgust, with the view of taking up his abode at Cumae. While his furniture, &c., are being stowed away, Umbricius is represented as walking on with his friend Juvenal. They stop outside a gate in the city, 11, and while waiting, Umbricius delivers himself of his sentiments, 21–314. At 315, the carriage comes up to them and the friends part company (see on 316). There is no reason whatever for identifying this personage with the man of the same name mentioned by Pliny as a distinguished soothsayer, and by Tacitus, Hist. i 27. Indeed the text is opposed to this supposition. Umbricius, like Calvinus xiii 5, and Fuscinus xiv 1, may be anybody. Nor is there the slightest sense in coupling his departure from Rome with "the expulsion of the philosophers by Domitian A.D. 90." This man evidently goes of his own accord, and no allusion whatever is made by him to the event in question, an omission which would be inconceivable, if that were directly, or indirectly, the cause of his exodus. *confusus*, "upset" as we say. *nec minus est confusa Venus moriente Tibullo*, Ov. So *confusio*, Plin. Epp. ii 20. The Greeks used *συγχέω* in the same way, *τί συγχυθεῖσ᾽ ἕστηκας*; Eur. Med. 1005. **2**: *vacuis.* So *vacuum nemus*, *vacuae Athenae*, *vacuum Tibur*, in Horace. In the two last examples it means "idle." The meaning here is "deserted," "thinly peopled," as at x 102, *vacuis aedilis Ulubris.* The Sibyl had her seat at *Cumae.* **3**: *unum civem*, "one more citizen," that is. **4, 5**: It was the road to the fashionable watering-place of *Baiae.* *amoeni secessus* is literally "of a

pleasant retirement," i.e., "pleasant to retire to." We have no idiom exactly corresponding to this expression. Coningt. compares with it *Herculeae arbos umbrosa coronae*, Georg. ii 66, and *fallax herba veneni*, Ecl. iv 24, "a poisonous herb." The genitives are, as he says, genitives of quality, or attributive. The Suburra, a thoroughfare of Rome, is frequently mentioned by Martial, and once in connection with Juvenal. *Dum tu forsitan inquietus erras Clamosa Juvenalis in Subura*, Mart. xii 18. It is here used for Rome generally, as we might say "I prefer even Lundy Island to Cheapside." *Prochyta* is a small island now known as Procita. In a letter of Anton. Pius to Fronto, there is an expression which reminds one of this *Mallem Mehercule Gyaris cum illa (Faustina) quam sine illa in Palatio vivere*, Fronto (Mai) Epp. 2. *solum* in the next line is used as *sola insula*, Catull. 64 184, "devoid of inhabitants." **7**: *horrere*, "to live in dread of." **8**: *mille*, the thousand *other*. We have just had another instance of this, at ii 164, *cunctis ephebis*, "all the other youths." **9**: *Augusto recitantes mense poetas*. Cf. i 2, note. This comic touch, coming after the mention of real dangers, strongly resembles a passage in viii 216–221, where *Troica non scripsit* is introduced in the same way, after some of Nero's real crimes have been referred to. On these recitations cf. i 1, and see Friedländer, vol. iv p. 72, Fr. ed. **10**: *componere* is the proper word for "to pack up," a sense of the word which does not seem to be given in the Dictionaries. *Omnia Duc adjutores tecum ad navim qui ferant: Omnia composita sunt quae donavi ut ferat.* Plaut. Mil. Glor. iv 7 20 21. *I ergo intro, et compone quae tecum simul ferantur*, Ter. Hec. iv 3 5. *domus*, "his movables," his family and slaves, if he had any. *reda* was originally a Gallic word. Quint., Inst. Or i 5. **11**: *madidam Capenam*. The Porta Capina, leading to Capua, wet from the dripping of an aqueduct which went over it. *Capena grandi porta qua pluit gutta*, Mart. iii 47. **12**: *constituebat*, "used to make assignations," as at vi 487. *Constitui cum quodam hospite me esse illum conventuram*, Ter. Hecyr., i 2 120, and iii 4 23. The nymph Egeria is alluded to. **13**: *sqq*. The Jews, who were not allowed to enter the city, seem to have become squatters in this grove, which they were permitted to

inhabit on payment of a small rent. Juvenal elsewhere speaks of them as beggars: *Arcanam Judaea tremens mendicat in aurem*, vi 543 sqq. and Martial *a matre doctus rogare Judaeus*, xii 57 13. The basket was probably to put their provisions in, and the hay to lay their heads on, Juv. vi 542. In relation to the miracle of the loaves and fishes, it has been suggested that each apostle may have carried a basket of this kind, which he filled with the fragments. **16**: *Camenis*. The four Roman divinities, Antevorta, Postvorta, Carmenta, and Egeria. See Dict. G. and R. Biog. and Myth. *dissimiles veris*, that is to say, unlike what they are by nature. **18**: *praesentius*. Another reading is *praestantius*. I prefer the former, which seems to have been the reading of P. Besides the passages quoted by the commentators from Virgil (whom Juvenal often copies) *praesentia numina Fauni*, Georg. i 10, *nec tam praesentes alibi cognoscere Divos*, Ecl. i 42, and the line in Juv. xi iii, *Templorum quoque majestas praesentior*, Pliny the younger in describing the temple of Clitumnus, the river god, uses the same expression, *praesens numen*, Epp. viii 8, and Claudian writes of a fountain *Publica morborum requies, commune medentum Auxilium, praesens numen inempta salus*. *Per hodierni diei praesentissimum numen adjurans*, App. Met. iii 51; Ov. Her. 21 150. The meaning seems to be as in Ovid. Fast. iii 295. *Lucus Aventino suberat niger ilicis umbra Quo posses viso dicere numen inest*; and compare also, Fast. v 673, *Est aqua Mercurii portae vicina Capenae; Si juvat expertis credere, numen habet.* But there can be no special sense here of "powerful to aid," or "efficacious;" but simply "present," "present to the imagination." It has been objected that Servius, when commenting on the two above quoted passages of Virgil, does not allude to this place in Juvenal, but I do not think there is much in that. *praestantius* would be very tame. *praesent.* and *praestant.* are similar MSS. vars. in Virg. Æn. xii 152 and 245. The poet has throughout Ov. Met. iii 157 sqq. in his eye. **20**: *violarent*, used as in Virg. Æn. xii 67, *ingen. toph.* is like *nativus pumex*, Ov. Met. x 692. *tophum*. The *tufa*, a porous volcanic rock (out of which the catacombs are cut), is meant. *Antra subit tophis laqueataque pumice vivo*, Ov. Fast. ii 315.

21, 22: compare Martial iii 4 7 8 v 56 8–12. *honestorum* may be understood before *laborum*. **23, 24**: Properly *res deteritur*, not *deterit*. *here* was the form commonly used in Juvenal's time, Quint. i 7 22. **24**: *proponimus*, the plural for the singular, as i 15, *et nos consilium dedimus Sullae.* **25**: *fatigatas—alas.* Sc. to Cumae, cf. Virg. Aen. vi 14 sqq. **26**: so *cruda Deo viridisque senectus*, Virg. Æn. vi 304. **27**: *Dum res et aetas et sororum Fila trium patiuntur atra*, Hor. Od. ii 3 5. Lachesis is often represented as weaving the thread of life. *Cum mihi supremos Lachesis perneverit annos*, Mart. i 89 9. Elsewhere it is Clotho. As in the case of Aeacus and his brother judges, i 10, the poets shifted about the attributes of the Destinies, at their pleasure. **28**: Old age leaning on a stick is a common image, *baculum premit inclinata senectus*, Calpurn. v 13, Ov. Met. vi 27. Compare Æschyl. Agam. 74. **29, 30**: *Artorius* and *Catulus*, like *Proculeius*, and *Gillo*, i 40, are any two scoundrels. *patria* may be used here in the sense of "le pays" in France. **31**: *facile* is usually taken to signify "to whom it is an easy matter," "who have the means of." I think the sense is, "who have an aptitude for that kind of work." *conducere* is to take a contract for the execution of public and other works, such as are afterwards described. *Pars hominum gestit conducere publica*, Hor. Epp. i 1 77. *mea fiducia opus conduxi et meo periclo rem gero*, Plaut. Bacch. iv 3 115. The general meaning is, "men who will undertake to do anything for money, build a temple, clear the bed of a river, construct a harbour, cleanse the public sewers, furnish a funeral, or sell a gang of slaves by auction." **33**: *caput* must be here "a person," as often. *Triginta minas pro capite tuo dedi*, Cic. Verr. Some take the meaning to be "or to sell themselves, if need be," others, "at the risk of being sold as slaves in case of default," where *caput* will have the sense of "freedom," "Leben und Freiheit," Heinr. But both these renderings require *aut* for *et*, and yield, to my mind, an inferior sense. *domina* with *hasta* offers no difficulty, *dominas manus*, Ov. Am. ii 5 30. *dominae arcae*, Mart. iii 31. *domina urbs*, Nemesian. Ecl. i 83 (as τύραννος πόλις, Thucyd. i 122). A spear was put up at auctions, a symbol derived from the practice of selling

booty acquired in war under a spear. So *hasta posita bona vendere*, Cic. de Off. ii 8. *auctionis hastae*, Suet. J. Cæs. 50. *ipsum bonaque subjecit hastae*, Id. Aug. 24, Dict. G. and R. Ant. "Auctio." *ubique hasta et sector, et inquieta urbs auctionibus*, Tac. Hist. i 20. **34**: sqq. These people, who were formerly in the lowest stations, *ex gr.*, members of orchestras in companies of strolling gladiators, now give shows on their own account. Martial has similar complaints on people of low origin presuming to exhibit shows to the public. *Das gladiatores sutorum regule, cerdo*, iii 16. *Sutor cerdo dedit tibi culta Bononia munus Fullo dedit Mutinae; nunc, ubi caupo dabit?* iii 59. *Irasci nostro non debes cerdo libello. Ars tua non vita est carmine laesa meo. Innocuos permitte sales; cur ludere nobis Non liceat, licuit si jugulare tibi?* iii 99. Cf. Juv. ii 147 148. *municipales*, "provincials" as we should say, viii 238. **36**: *verso pollice*, etc. "At a sign from the many-headed, kill you off any one you like, to court popularity." I think the right reading here is *quem libet*, and not *quum libet*, and that *vulgi* is to be taken with *verso pollice*. It was the audience in general which gave the signal of death, by turning up the thumbs, and not any particular individual. (At least this was so in the times of the Emperors, though at an earlier period the *missio* or otherwise appears to have rested with the giver of the show.) *occidunt*, "kill," *i.e.*, are the means of killing, iv 110; note below 186, and the above epigram of Martial iii 99. **40**: *quoties...jocari*. Compare vi 608. *Secretumque sibi mimum parat (Fortuna)*. *voluit* is an aorist. **41**: *Quid Romae faciam?* Compare Mart. iii 38, 13 14. *Quid faciam suade, nam certum est vivere Romae? Si bonus es casu vivere Sexte potes*, and the whole of iv 5. **42**: *poscere*, either "to ask for a copy," or, as Macleane suggests, "to call for the book, *i.e.*, to ask to hear it" (*posco* often has this sense, Ov. Met. iv 274, v 333, cf. Plin. Epp. ii 3), though in the latter case we should rather expect *poscere et laudare*. Sir G. C. Lewis quotes this passage in support of his opinion that books in Rome were very dear. The hearers ask for a copy at the recitation, instead of going and buying the book as we should. But productions were generally recited *before* publication, so that to ask for a copy would be equivalent to

our asking an author for his book "as soon as it comes out;" the highest compliment a reciter could receive: or it might be a request for a privately made copy of his work, or simply to borrow the MS., cf. Plin. Epp. ix 1, if the latter were not intended for publication. The passage proves nothing for Sir G. C. Lewis's view. On the dearness of ancient books, cf. Friedländer, vol. iv pp. 67 68, Fr. edit. **44**: *ranarum viscera.* See i 70 note. **47**: *nulli comes exeo,* "I am not going out in the suite of any great man." Cf. viii 127. *si tibi sancta cohors comitum,* i.e., the persons composing your staff and suite as governor of a province, in which sense it is constantly found in Cicero, and elsewhere. *fur* means here a thief on a large scale; *furtum* is similarly used by Pliny, Epp. iv 9. The mention of Verres, a little way on, confirms this view. The exactions of these governors of provinces are dwelt on at length in Juv. viii 87, sqq. *exire* has also a technical sense, *cum in provinciam Quaestor exisset,* Plin. Epp. iv 12. **48**: *mancus. Dixi me pigrum proficiscenti tibi, dixi Talibus officiis prope mancum,* Hor. Epp. ii 2 20. *Ad mandata claudus, caecus, mutus, mancus, debilis,* Plaut. Merc. iii 4 45. Hor. Sat. ii 7 88. **49**: *diligitur* is used ironically, as *carus* below. In reality the confidant is hated and feared by his patron, 57. "Who is selected for promotion?" *conscius* is the confidant, the accomplice in crime. *Vis fieri dives Bithynice? conscius esto,* Mart. vi 50 5. *non sine conscio surgit marito,* Hor. *Accipiunt socios atque agmina conscia jungunt,* Virg. Aen. ii 267, the bands of their accomplices. Ov. Fast. ii 100. As συνειδώς. As to *cui* being a dissyl. cf. Paley. Mart. i 52. **50**: Compare i 166 167. **51**: *Nil tibi vel minimum basia pura dabunt,* Mart. vi 50 6. Comparing this with the preceding line quoted at 49, we shall be led to the idea that this is a passage in which one poet may have copied another. **55**: *Tagi. Possideat Libycas messes, Hermumque Tagumque,* Mart. vi 86 5, where *Tagus* is used as a synonym for wealth. It was one of those rivers which were supposed to have gold in their sands. Cf. Mart. i 50 15. **56**: *ponenda;* this may be for *deponenda,* as in Juvenal, and elsewhere constantly; *ex gr.,* three times in three consecutive lines of Plautus, Aul. iv 4 10 11 12. If so, the meaning will be "which you will

one day have to disgorge." And so, after very great hesitation, I have rendered it. But why should the accomplice have to disgorge bribes privately received? Heinrich's explanation, "which you will have to part with at your death," seems to me quite inadmissible. I cannot but think that the rendering which takes *ponenda* for *proponenda* (or *deponenda*, Virg. Ecl. iii 31) may be the correct one. *Invitat pretiis animos et praemia ponit*, Virg. Aen. v 292; and it is possible that Juvenal may have had this in his mind. *posito praemio*, Phaedr.; *posita palma*, Mart.; *positis accendit pectora donis*, Silius. If so, the meaning will be "the prizes" (of silence) which are "to be staked" "to be set before you," *i.e.*, the bribes agreed upon. Others construe, "that ought to be spurned." The coupling of *tristis* with *sumas* is a satirical touch, in the style of our author. **57**: *magno amico. magni delator amici*, i 33. *magnae amicae*, iv 20. *miserae magnaeque pallor amicitiae*, iv 74 75.

58: sqq. The poet expresses his dislike of the foreign adventurers who filled the town, Jacks-of-all-trades, consummate actors, flatterers, and toadies of rich men, acquiring influence in great houses by their vile tricks, and abusing that influence in a shameful way. Johnson, in his well-known imitation of this satire, has substituted the French for the Greeks. **61**: *quota portio faecis Achaei!* The Greeks, after all, form but a small portion of this foreign rabble. Mr. Evans renders "how small the proportion even of the dregs of Greece," as if it were *faecis Achaeae*. I cannot understand why Heinrich and Macleane put a note of interrogation after *Achaei*. **62**: The Orontes is here put for the East generally, as *natus ad Euphraten*, i 104. *Et quas Euphrates et quas mihi misit Orontes Me capiant*, Prop. ii 23 21. **63, 64**: *chordas obliquas*. The *sambuca*, or triangular harp, is referred to. Cf. Dict. G. and R. Ant. "Sambuca." **65**: *puellas*, as at vi 127. **66**: *mitra*. The μίτρα was a kind of Eastern head-dress for women, the form of which is shown in an engraving in Dict. G. and R. Ant. art. "Coma." **66**: *Ite* may be either "abi in malam rem," the Fr. "allez!" as Ruperti takes it, or "Hie thither!" **67**: *Rusticus ille tuus.* This does not mean that "the very peasants wear light slip-

pers," &c., but "that son of yours, the rustic of old;" ***rusticorum militum proles*** of Horace, though no longer ***mascula.*** **67, 68**: *trechedipna* τρεχέδειπνα from τρέχειν and δεῖπνον, to run to dinner. The scholiast says they were a kind of shoe. *ceromatico* from κήρωμα an ointment with which wrestlers besmeared themselves. *niceteria*, νικητήρια, emblems of victory. All these are Greek words, introduced purposely. **69**: *Sicyone*, *Amydone*, &c. From various parts of Greece and Asia Minor. It has been supposed that the whole of this description refers to a great influx of foreigners which took place under Hadrian. It may be so, and the passage 58-125 may have been inserted in the original draft of the Satire. See note to 76. But Greeks and Orientals had long before been numerous in Rome, and the complaint was an old one. Livy, writing of the year 187 B.C., says, *Luxuriae enim peregrinae origo ab exercitu Asiatico in urbem invecta est . . . tum psaltriae sambucistriaeque et convivalia ludionum oblectamenta addita epulis . . . vix tamen illa quae tum conspiciebantur semina erant futurae luxuriae*, xxxix 6. Compare Sen. de Cons. ad Helv. 6, *ex municipiis et coloniis suis, ex toto denique orbe confluxerunt, etc.* **71**: The hill named from the osiers is the Viminal. It was a fashionable quarter. I do not quite agree with Macleane, when he says, "these slaves were brought to Rome to be introduced into great houses," as if none but slaves were intended. Free adventurers, as well as slaves, are evidently referred to. **72**: "Work themselves inwards, and their patrons out," Dryden. But I do not think this is the meaning. The sense is, "who are destined to gain complete control over these great houses." Lucian, in one of his most amusing productions, gives a rather different account of the life of a Greek hanger-on (at any rate, of the literary class) in a great Roman house, in his day, which was not far removed from Juvenal's. But he says that the man would have to toady and lie, and admits that a great deal of the popular prejudice against the Greeks was not without foundation. De Merced. Cond. **73**: *picta mitra* Πέρσαισιν αἰολομίτραις, Theocr. xvii 19. **74**: *Isaeo.* Isaeus was the tutor of Demosthenes. But it is probable that a Greek rhetorician of eminence, who came to Rome in the

younger Pliny's time, is intended. That author speaks of his wonderful fluency, of the public exhibitions of his skill which he gave, &c., so that he would be well known, Plin. Epp. ii 3. *torrentior;* cf. x 9 and 128, for a similar use of this word. **76**: Spartianus, in his Life of Hadrian, has a passage which recalls this line. *In summa familiaritate . . . grammaticos, rhetores, musicos, geometras, pictores habuit.* And Aurelius Victor. Epitome, Hadrian, speaks of that Emperor as *potitus medendi scientia, musicus, geometra, pictor,* &c. The commentators take *aliptes* here as "a trainer." I think it has the same meaning as at vi 422. **78**: *Graeculus,* "Greekling," a common term of contempt. *Graecula* occurs in the same sense, vi 186. It appears that Hadrian was nick-named *Graeculus,* Spartian. and Aur. Vict. **79, 80**: *mediis Athenis.* So *mediae Mycenae.* Virg. Æn. vii 372. Daedalus was generally considered to have been an Athenian. Some have seen in this passage an allusion to a person who played the part of Icarus in a show in Nero's time, where, as was very common, other mythological characters were represented, Suet. Nero, 12. But this is very fanciful. The Daedalus of fable, well known to every one, would naturally be cited after such an expression as *ad summam. ad summam,* "in short;" Pliny the younger invariably uses the form, *in summa,* Epp. i 22, ii 11, &c. **83**: *pruna, cottona.* Plin., H.N. xiii 5, speaks of *pruna in Damasco monte nata.* Hence our "Damsons," originally "Damascenes." In the same place, he speaks of *cottona* as a small kind of fig. Mart. xiii 28. **85**: The Aventine was an unfashionable quarter. *baccae Sabinae* are here opposed to *pruna* and *cottona.* The olive is meant. *Caerula quot baccas Pallados arbor habet,* Ov. A.A. ii 518, where the same fruit is meant. **86**: *Quid quod,* "why add that?" below 147, and elsewhere. *Quid quod usque proximos revellis agri terminos,* Hor. Od. ii 18 23. **87**: *faciem deformis amici.* So Lucian, in the work referred to on 72, warns his friend that he will have to compare his patron to Adonis or Hyacinthus, though he should have a nose an ell long, De Merced. Cond. 35. *prudentissima adulandi,* "most cunning in flattery." So in Hor. Epod. 17, *prudens anus,* in a bad sense. *prudens Veiento,* Juv. iv 113. **90, 91**: *ille (maritus*

gallinae) *quo marito*, &c. *marito* is attracted into the ablative: "by whom, in his capacity of husband, the hen is bitten." *maritus gallinae* is, of course, a periphrasis for *gallus*, as *olentis uxores mariti* for *capellae*, Hor. Od. i 17 7, *viri capellarum* for *hirci*, Mart. iii 93 11. *ovis maritus* for *aries*, Calpurn. ii 37. *Quo* for *a quo*, the ablative of the agent, is not uncommon. *Illi scripta quibus comoedia prisca viris est*, Hor. Sat. i 10 16, a similar construction.

93: *An melior*, etc. Some render, "Is he a better actor when he plays Thais, &c.,—*i.e.*, than he is in private life?" But it would seem from 95–97, *mulier* . . . *rima*, that this is wrong. The meaning is, "Is there a better actor than he when," &c.; unless *mulier* . . . *rima* be taken as thrown in parenthetically. **95**: *palliolo* is either a cloak, or a kind of hood. It is not easy to say in which sense the poet intends it here. "An unveiled strumpet," Macleane; but I do not think that *Doris* is used in that sense here (*Thais*, above, is, of course). *Doris* seems to be a Greek girl, perhaps a waiting-woman, a soubrette, *D. null. c. pall.* seems to be equivalent to *μονόπεπλος Δωρὶς ὡς κόρα*. Eur. Hec. (quoted by Mr. Simcox), where *μονοπ.* = *ἄπεπ*, clad in a tunic only. Cf. Lid. and Sc. *ad voc.* The German translator, Siebold, takes it in this way, "gar kein Mäntelchen trägt." The Spartan girls were thinly clad. **98**: sqq. And yet, wonderful as are their performances on the stage, Antiochus and other celebrated actors would excite no great admiration in their own country; for the whole nation is one of actors; they play as well off the stage as on it. (This gives the sense of *tamen.*) The poet then proceeds to give examples of their powers in this respect. With regard to the actors mentioned, the name of Antiochus is not, it appears, found elsewhere. Haemus is mentioned again at vi 198, in very much the same terms; *dicas haec mollius Haemo.* Demetrius and Stratocles are spoken of as great comedians by Quintilian, xi 3, at the end. And Quintilian notes of Demetrius, among other theatrical gestures, the way in which he used to wave his hand, *jactare manus*, using the same words as our author below, 106. **100**: sqq. Compare the speech of Gnatho, the parasite, in Terence, cited by the scholiast. *Quidquid dicunt laudo, id rursum si*

negant laudo id quoque: negat quis, nego: ait, aio: postremo imperavi egomet mihi omnia assentari: is quaestus nunc est multo uberrimus, Eun. ii 2; and Martial, who says of one of these adulators, *Omnia laudabit, mirabitur omnia, donec Perpessus dicas taedia mille veni*, xii 83 13 14. **105**: *alienum vultum.* So *alias facies*, xv 57. **106**: *A facie jactare manus.* these words, as well as *laudare*, might depend on *paratus.* "Prepared to blow a kiss, to signify his approval." Compare iv 118. Some put the stop after *facie.* **108**: There are many interpretations of this obscure line; *ex gr.*, "if with upturned bottom the golden goblet smacks," *i.e.*, if the great man drinks off a bumper at a draught and smacks his lips, or, if he dashes the liquor left in the cup on the floor. Dict. Ant. "Cottabos;" and Valer. Max. iii 2 ext. 6, *quodque ex ea* (*potione*) *superfuerat, jocabundus illisum humo clarum edere sonum coegit.* But neither of these meanings suits the context. Britann. and Heinr. take *aur. trul.* as *venter divitis*, and *fund.* as *ano*, giving to the whole the sense of *si pepederit.* I think *pedere* or *cacare* is the sense, compare Mart. x 14 10; but *trul. aur.* for *venter divitis* is a very violent metaphor. *trul. aur.* I take to be a homely domestic utensil, which appears to have been made of gold in some cases. *Ventris onus misero, nec te pudet, excipis auro*, Mart. i 38, Lamprid. Heliog. 32, and not uncommonly of silver, Plin. H. N. xxxiii 12; Petron. 27. The meaning might then be "if this utensil, when placed under him, shall have given a *crep.* to his *inv. fun.*," i.e., shall have furnished him with an occasion for, &c. "If he has a successful stool," which, strange as it may sound to our ears, is not incompatible with the manners of the period. *fun.* for *an.* is not elsewhere found. But no rendering or explanation is at all satisfactory.* Or take 108 in one of the senses first indicated, and suppose something else to be *suggested;* or, transpose 107 108. **113**: *inde timeri;* above 57. *scire volunt*, the change to the plural is common, vi 365 464.

114: *transi gymnasia.* This may be either "pass by"

* In one Bodleian MS. which I examined, *aurea* has *ventosa* written over it. And *trulla* = "*pet*" in middle-age Latin. Ducange. This shows how some of the later transcribers understood the line.

their training-schools, in which sense *transeo* is almost always used by Juvenal, vi 602, vii 190, x 273, or "pass on to their school," or "pass through"—as we should say "take a turn through." I prefer the first, "Quit the play-grounds of vice" (Escott), though he is wrong in his reference to vii 190, as supporting the interpretation "pass on to." There, *transi* clearly means "pass by." "Leave mere playings at vice (such as the toadyings, &c., mentioned above) and listen to their big-wig crimes (such as the denunciation and murder of one friend by another, next mentioned)." *Et . . . mentio* is quite as prosaic as *A . . . fabula*, xv 72, which Ribbeck cites as a proof of the spuriousness of that Satire. **115**: *abolla* was a cloak much affected by philosophers, Mart. iv 53 5. In the next satire it will be found worn by a senator, iv 76. See Dict. G. and R. Ant. article "Abolla," where a woodcut is given. *majoris abollae* may be imp. for pers., "of a very deep philosopher." The rendering here, as often in our author, is somewhat uncertain. That which I have given is intelligible. "Since we have begun to talk about the universities, drop the undergraduates, and listen to a deed chargeable on the doctor's gown," would be an allowable expression with us. **116**: sqq. The allusion is to Barea Soranus, condemned to death in the reign of Nero, apparently on the evidence of P. Egnatius Celer. *Celer professus sapientiam, dein testis in Baream, proditor, corruptorque amici, et cujus se magistrum ferebat*, Tac. Hist. iv 10. *occidit*, "caused his death," above 36 and iv 110. **117, 118**: *ripa...caballi*. This was Tarsus, according to the scholiast. **119**: *non est Romano*, etc. This is just what Lucian makes the people say at dinner, μόνοις τοῖς Ἕλλησι τούτοις ἀνέωκται ἡ Ῥωμαίων πόλις—these Greeks have got sole possession of Rome. It was doubtless a common complaint. De Merc. Cond. 17. **120**: *Protogenes*, etc.; any three Greek adventurers. **124**: *perierunt*, "have been wasted, thrown away," i 18 note. **125**: *Servitii* is used here with emphasis "my long slavery." *jactura* is properly the throwing of part of the cargo overboard, to lighten the ship, as *jactu decidere ventis*, at xii 33; hence a loss, vi 91, xiii 8 and 177. Virg. Aen. ii 646.

126: *ne nobis blandiar*. Pliny has *nisi forte blandior*

mihi, in the same sense, Epp. v 1. **128**: *praetor*, "the praetor himself." So *Celso dictare paratae* to Celsus himself, vi 245. He would be attended, in the city, by two lictors. This introduction of the lictors implies that the praetor goes "in full state." When paying unceremonial visits, the magistrates seem to have discarded these officers. Lips. ad Tac. Ann. ii 53. **129**: *dudum vigilantibus orbis*, "long since awake and expecting visitors," as he fears. Martial constantly alludes to the court paid to rich widows, &c. *jubes... haerere tuo lateri praecedere sellam Ad viduas tecum plus minus ire decem*, ix 101 and cf. i 50 34, ii 32, iv 56. *orbus* means "without parents, or children." In vi 270 it means "robbed of her young." **131**: *claudere latus* is to give a man the wall, when you are walking with him. *Utne tegam spurco Damae latus?* Hor. Sat. ii 5 18. *Mares inter se uxoresque contendunt uter det latus illis*, Sen. Quaest. Nat. vii 32, Livy iii 37, Cic. Philipp. xiii 2. *servi* a man who had been a slave. **132**: *alter enim* etc., *Empta tibi nox est fundis non tota paternis*, Mart. ix 3 7. What the pay of a tribune was is not known, but it has been conjectured to have been not less than forty-eight *aurei*, i. e., about £37 10s. **133**: *Calvina* and *Catiena* are two ladies of quality, who prostitute themselves. **136**: *Chione* is the name of a prostitute often found in Martial, i 35 &c., from whom probably our author takes it. Martial was read by everybody, and an allusion to one of his characters would be as readily taken as when we speak of "Mr. Sikes" for a ruffian. **137, 138**: *hospes numinis Idaei.* This was P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica, chosen for his virtue to receive and escort to Rome the image of Cybele, brought from Pessinus in Galatia B.C. 204, Livy xxix 14, xxxv 10. *Numa* is Numa Pompilius. The other person mentioned is L. Caecilius Metellus, who saved the palladium from the temple of Vesta, when in flames, and lost his eye-sight, vi 265. *trepidam* applied to an image reminds one of *juris peritus Apollo* at i 128. **140, 141**: The old story, *Virtus post nummos. An dives omnes quaerimus, nemo an bonus*, quoted by Seneca, Epp. 115, and again *ubique tanti quisque, quantum habuit, fuit*, a sentiment identical with that in 143 144 below. *Quantum quisque ferat respiciendus erit*, as

Ovid puts it, of lovers. **142**: *jugera*, translated "acres" for convenience. But the *jugerum* (or *jugus*) contained in reality 2 roods 19 perches. *quam multa...coenat?* How about his service of plate? **143**: *servat.* There is perhaps an allusion to *servavit* 139; "you will get more credit by saving money than by saving a goddess." The sentiment of these lines seems to have been expressed proverbially in the words *assem habeas, assem valeas: habes, habeberis*, Petron. 77. Lucilius (quoted by the scholiast) had said nearly the same thing. *Quantum habeas, tanti ipse sies, tantique habearis.* **144**: *Samothracum.* On the Samothracian deities and their mysteries, cf. Dict. G. and R. Ant. under "Cabeiri." **145**: *fulmina atque deos*, a hendiadys, according to Heinrich = *vindictam deorum.* But this is quite unnecessary. **147**: *Quid quod;* cf. 86 note. The phrase *materiam praebere jocorum* is used by Seneca de Vit. Beat. 27. **149, 150**: *rupta...patet. rupta cum pes vagus exit aluta*, Mart. xii 26 9. **152**: *in se*, "attached to itself," "inseparable from it." **153**: *exeat*, etc. People often sat in the seats of the knights, who were not entitled to do so, and were thence ejected by what we should call the box-keepers. *Sedilibusque magnus in primis eques Othone contempto sedet*, Hor. Epod. 4 15. Martial who, though not an eques, had the privileges of one, and the rank of tribune, accorded him by Domitian, says, *vidit me Roma tribunum Et sedeo qua te suscitat Oceanus* iii 95 10. *Nunc est reddita dignitas equestris Turba non premimur, nec inquinamur; Haec et talia dum refert supinus Illas purpureas et arrogantes Jussit surgere Lectius lacernas*, v 8. **156, 157, 158**: Here, I think, Umbricius takes up the speech of the *designator* and finishes it for him. The *p. juv. juv que l.* must have come there in holiday attire, to look on and to take lessons from what they saw. **159**: L. Roscius Otho introduced the law in virtue of which the first fourteen rows in the theatre, next behind the seats of the senators, were reserved for the knights. Domitian enforced this law rigidly, Suet. Domit. 8. **160**: *placuit*, an aorist, as constantly in Juvenal. *negavit*, 168. *peperit*, 233. Pliny the younger, when recommending a young man as son-in-law to a friend, makes an apology for alluding to his expectations, *cum publicos mores*

atque etiam leges civitatis intueor qui vel imprimis census hominum spectandos arbitrantur, Epp. i 14. **161**: *sarcinulis*, again at vi 146, where it means "traps," "bag and baggage." So in Appul. Met. xi 258, *constrictis sarcinulis nave conscensa;* and in Petron., &c. Here the meaning must be something not far from our "trousseau." **162**: *in consilio Ædilibus* as an assessor to the Ædiles. So the praetors had their assessors or assistants, *Cur praetor te... in consilium vocavit?* Cic. Flacc. 32 and cf. Sull. 4. **162, 163**: *agmine facto*, coupled with *Quirites*, prepares the mind for something martial, and this adds to the force of the passage. "The poor Romans ought to have formed themselves into array, and—emigrated!" *migrare, emigrare* are the regular words for "to shift one's quarters." There is no allusion, that I can see, here to the secession to Mons Sacer, as some have thought. The pluperfect, here joined to the past tense of the infinitive, is particularly emphatic. "Long ago they ought already to have emigrated." *tenuis*, is "poor," as *tenues Afros*, viii 120. *pauper et tenuis*, Plin. Epp. ii 20. *tenuem et obaeratum*, "poor and in debt," Suet. Jul. Caes. 46. **164**: *emergunt*, "rise from obscurity." *neque enim cuiquam tam clarum statim ingenium est, ut possit emergere, nisi illi materia, occasio, fautor etiam commendatorque contingat*, Plin. Epp. vi 23. **166**: *magno hospitium miserabile.* We are not able to tell exactly how much this would be. There is a passage in Suetonius from which we should infer that 2000 sesterces, *i.e.*, £17 to £18, was a moderate rent in the time of Julius Caesar,—Jul. Caes. 38. Sulla in his humbler days seems to have paid about £25, Plut. Sull. 1. **169**: The epithets *Sabellus, Sabinus* are used as synonymous with frugal, primitive, chaste, &c., above, 85, vi 164, x 299; and the Marsians, who were probably of the same origin as the Sabines, are more than once coupled with them by the poets. *genus acre virum, Marsos pubemque Sabellam.* Virg. Georg. ii 167. Hor. Epod. 17. Cicero couples them in a complimentary way in Vatin. Test. 15. The meaning is, a man would not have such grand ideas in the country. **170**: *cucullo.* Ruperti reads *culullo*, a kind of cup or bowl. This would suit the context better, but is against the MSS. *veneto* is the colour of the sea.

171, 172: Under the Empire, the toga was worn by the middle and lower classes in Rome, only as a dress of ceremony, *ex gr.*, on the occasion of a client visiting his patron, i 96, iii 127, Mart. iv 66; the tunic being the usual attire, iii 254. *tunicatus popellus*, Hor. Epp. i 7 65. *tunicati illi*, Cic. in Rull. 2 34. In the country, the toga seems to have been entirely laid aside by all classes. Martial, writing to Juvenal from Spain, says, *Dum per limina te potentiorum Sudatrix tŏga ventilat . . . . (hic) ignota est toga*, xii 18; and Pliny says of his villa, *Ibi nulla necessitas togae*, Epp. v 6, and cf. Epp. vii 3. The body of a deceased person (a freedman) was always clad in "full-dress," Mart. ix 58 7, *pallens toga mortui tribulis.* So Virgil, of the funeral of Misenus, *tum membra toro defleta reponunt Purpureasque super vestes, velamina nota Conjiciunt*, Aen. vi 220–222. **175, 176**: *cum . . . infans*, a little touch, quite after the manner of the poet—I had almost said, after the manner of Thackeray—bringing the scene vividly before us. *parasitus infans*, v 145. **178**: *honor* may here have the same sense, viz., "official dignity," "magistracy," as in vii 88, *militiae largitur honorem;* viii 150, *finitum tempus honoris;* xi 87, *dictatoris honore functus*, but it may also mean "magistrate" (the person), as in i 110, and 117. In that case the meaning will be, "as the attire of a distinguished magistrate." I prefer the former sense, with *summis Aedilibus*, following, "as the garb of their great office." *clari* and *summis* are used with a dash of satire. Aediles were small police magistrates (the metropolitan ones have just been spoken of somewhat slightingly at 162), cf. x 102, and Pers. i 129 130. The highest authorities of the place, however, were content with a plain white tunic, on an occasion of ceremony. In Rome they would have worn a toga. There is force here in *albae*, "plain tunics, provided they are white." White was the colour for festive occasions, birthdays, &c. *Festos albatus celebrat*, Hor. Sat. ii 2 61; *natalicia cum sardonyche albus*, Pers. i 16; *urbanis albus in officiis*, Mart. i 56. **180, 181**: *hic aliquid . . . arca.* Not only do men spend more than suits their means and their station, but also this "more" is sometimes begged, borrowed, or stolen from their neighbours. *sumitur* means "is taken" in any way, not

merely "is borrowed," as Macleane renders. An apprentice who robbed his master's till to appear in finery in the company of his sweetheart, would be an example of one by whom *plus quam satis est aliena sumitur arca;* so would a swindler on a large scale. Juvenal had all these kinds of things in view, and Rome was very like London. *ambitiosus* is used here precisely as in Hor. A.P. 447; *ambitiosa ornamenta*, pretentious, aiming at show only. So Ovid speaks of his household as *Nota quidem sed non ambitiosa domus*, Trist. i 9 18. **183, 184**: *omnia . . . pretio*, the meaning is not exactly the same as our "everything has its price," but rather, "everything in Rome is accompanied by a price,"—*i.e.*, "nothing is done without money in Rome." **184**: *quid das* etc.,—*i.e.*, to their slaves. So the bore who wants to scrape acquaintance with Maecenas, says, *Muneribus servos corrumpam*, Hor. Sat. i 9 57. The servants of fashionable doctors have to be similarly fee'd at the present day, as every one knows. *Cossum:* Cossus was the name of a patrician family, of the Cornelia gens. Fabricius Veiento is mentioned by Pliny, Epp. iv 22, and ix 13. He was a senator, and a man of note, originally banished under Nero, but who returned and became an informer under Domitian, and a flatterer of that tyrant. He is called *prudens* in iv 113, and named again iv 123 and vi 113, as well as alluded to as a senator in vi 82. It does not follow that he was alive at the time this passage was written. Perhaps the inference is that he was dead, i 170. His name is used as a type. "What do you pay?" the poet asks, "for a mere glance from Veiento, who, of course, does not condescend to open his lips." **186**: The Romans were in the habit of offering the first shavings of their beard to some god, and the day on which this was done was looked upon as a festival. The hair was often cut short at the same time, which was usually that of assuming the "toga virilis." See Dict. G. and R. Ant. "Barba." Rich men would naturally often observe these occasions in the case of their favourite slaves. *secuit nolente capillos Encolpus domino nec prohibente tamen*, Mart. v 48. *Hos tibi Phoebe vovet totos a vertice crines Encolpus domini centurionis amor*, 32. The general practice is frequently alluded to by Martial, and Burmann ad Petron. 107 gives a

number of other references, and cf. also, Petron. 73. Here one patron is having his slave shaved for the first time, and another, his slave's long hair cut; and the clients, to curry favour, make presents of cakes to the household, which are so numerous, that they will have to be sold again, *venalibus.* Compare v 98, *Quod captator emat Laenas, Aurelia vendat.* In Seneca, Epp. 95, we have a story of an Emperor (Tiberius) selling again a fine fish which had been sent him as a present. *deponit* is "cuts,"—*i.e.*, "causes to be cut," as in the epigram of Martial, quoted above, v 48, *deposuit gaudens, matre dolente, comas,* not "offers up." *cultis servis. cohors culta servorum,* Sen. Epp. 110.

190: *Praeneste, Volsinii, Gabii, Tibur,* small country places. Dict. G. & R. Geog. *simplicibus* means primitive, unsophisticated. Some commentators see in the epithet an allusion to the way in which the town fell a victim to the artifices of Sextus Tarquinius. *Gabios turpi fecerat arte suos,* Ov. Fast. ii 690. The story is told in Livy, i 53 54. Gabii is several times mentioned by Juvenal as a small, simple, country town, vi 56, vii 4, x 100. *Gabiis desertior atque Fidenis,* Hor. Epp. i 11 7. **193**: *tibicine* is a prop, or shore. *magna parte sui* must mean, "over a large portion of its surface;" in the case of the poorer kind of houses. **194**: *labentibus* Heinrich takes to refer to the inhabitants. I think it refers to the walls. In the next line, he and Macleane read *contexit,* which is very awkward, P. has *cum texit.* **197**: *incendia.* Fires seem to have been more frequent in Rome than in New York; and the great height of the *insulae,* the abodes of the middle and lower classes, rendered the danger from this source a very serious one. Cf. Aul. Gell. xv. 1, who introduces a man who says "he would sell his country property, and invest in Rome, if it were not for fires." **199**: *tibi* is not translatable in English. It is the French "vous" "vous brûlent." the dativus ethicus. It is very common in Lucretius. Cf. Munro's note to i 797. *Ecce tibi nuntius,* Cic. ad Att. ii 8. *nobis* is similarly used by Quint. Inst. i 2, at the beginning. *Sed nobis jam paulatim accrescere puer incipiat.* so *mihi,* Cic. in Catil. ii 5 and *sibi. Ucalegon.* We have here another reference to Virgil, *proximus ardet Ucalegon,* Aen.

ii 311. *frivola* occurs again at v 59. It is generally used with a dash of contempt: *nec inter illa frivola mea tam altus incedo*, "my trumpery," Sen. de Tranq. An. 1. **200**: *si grad. trep. ab. im.* If that is the part of the house at which the fire begins, you who are in the garrets will be the last to burn. *tibi* (see preceding note) cannot mean, as some take it, "your third floor, *i.e.*, "the floor which you inhabit." The man lodges far above that. There is a little confusion of thought here. For in whatever storey the fire broke out, unless it were his own, the man at the top of the house must be the last, under ordinary circumstances, to be burnt. The people below would make their escape.

202: *et molles quae reddunt ova columbae* would be more in Juvenal's vein, if there were authority for it. **203**: The Satirist introduces a poor devil whom he calls Codrus, and whom he supposes to have lost his all in the fire, for the purpose of pointing a moral. It does not follow that there ever was such a particular person, still less that he is the man mentioned in i 2. The name may stand, there as here, for a poor starveling poet, which, from the circumstances of his having *Graecos libellos* and *divina poemata* among his chattels, is most likely intended. *Procula minor* "too small for Procula." Macleane tells us that "one of the scholiasts says Procula was a dwarf." I have not been able to find the scholium to which he refers, but if this be so, it will only furnish one out of a thousand instances of the old commentators deriving their interpretation of the text from the text itself. A notable example of this practice is to be found at i 158, *qui dedit ergo tribus patruis aconita*, where Probus says that Tigellinus poisoned his three uncles. *Procula*, which occurs at ii 68, as a woman's name, is probably the man's wife. *Procula minor* is the same construction as *privatis majora focis*, iv 66, *minor igne rogi*, xv 140, and, perhaps, *censu minor*, above. **205**: *sub eodem marmore*, under the marble slab of the abacus, which perhaps it supported. **206**: *jamque vetus*, that had grown old in the service. **207**: The Opici (Greek for Osci) were an ancient people once occupying the central part of Italy. Here the word must be synonymous with "barbarian;" as we use the word Goth,

"Goths of mice." It occurs in the same sense at vi 455. *Quid, inquam, vos Opici dicitis mihi?* Aul. Gell. ii 21. Cf. Wordsworth's Early Latin Fragments, p. 624. *divina poemata* must refer to the *Graecos libellos* in the line above, not to the man's own poems. **208** : *quis enim negat?* "Granted! Codrus had nothing you say: no doubt, still he lost all that nothing." This is one of many passages in which the humour of Juvenal resembles, more than that of almost any other ancient author, the humour of the moderns. Ovid has something of the same turn of expression in A. A. i 151. *Et si nullus erit pulvis, tamen excute nullum.* **212** : *Asturicus* (if that be the correct reading, and there are many in the MSS.) must be a former owner after whom the house is called, for we hear afterwards of *Persicus* as the present owner. So we find that the younger Pliny lives in the *domus Pedonis.* Mart. x 19 10. (Compare *Quos tenuit Daphnis nunc tenet ille Lares.* Mart. iii 5 6.) Gordian inhabits at Rome *domum Pompeianam*, Capitol. Gord. 2, and Verus is educated in *domo Tiberiana*, Id. Ver. 2. Anton. P. 10. When this house is burnt down, the people all go into mourning, and put on what Horace calls the *lugubre sagum*, Epod. 9 27. Of course, all this, and what follows, is satirical exaggeration. **213** : *differt vadimonia*, literally, "puts off the vadimonia," which were the undertaking of the defendant, in an action-at-law, to appear and answer the plaint against him. As we should say "enlarges the defendant's recognizances." **214**: *casus* means here "the accidents," as at 273, Cf. 222 note. **215** : *ardet adhuc*, "it is not yet extinguished." Not that it is still "raging," as Mr Evans renders. We have just been told that the house is destroyed (*cecidit*); "smouldering" rather. **217** : Euphranor was a celebrated Greek sculptor and painter, in the days of Philip and Alexander. Polycletus (there were two of the name, but the elder is probably meant) flourished about a century earlier. Rome had naturally become possessed, by conquest or purchase, of many of the choicest productions of Greek art. **218** : If we retain *haec*, which is the reading of the best MSS., it must mean "another, a woman." It can hardly be the plural, agreeing with *ornamenta* and supplemental to the line preceding. *Asianorum . . . deorum*, some-

thing costly that had been originally pillaged from a shrine, viii 106–111. **219**: *mediam Minervam*, I have translated "a bust of Minerva," opposed to *tota*, the entire figure, Virg. Ecl. vii 31. It may mean a Minerva (*i.e.* a statuette of Minerva) to stand in the centre of his bookcase. *modius*, about a peck, literally. **221**: *orborum lautissimus*. He would not have had all these presents brought him, if he had not been *orbus*. Some take the word to refer to his losses by the fire; "most sumptuous of the destitute," ironically; but I do not think that is the meaning. *jam* seems to be here only the Greek ἤδη, as often. Or it might mean "at once suspected." **222**: compare Mart. iii 52, *Empta domus fuerat tibi Tongiliane ducenis. Abstulit hanc nimium casus in urbe frequens. Collatum est decies. rogo, non potes ipse videri Incendisse tuam Tongiliane domum?* **223**: The fondness of the Romans for the games of the circus is well known. The subject is often alluded to by our poet, vi 87, viii 118, x 80, xi 53 and 197, and repeatedly by Martial. Pliny the younger professes his contempt for them. Epp. ix 6. **223, 224**: *Sora*, *Fabrateria*, and *Frusino* are three small towns in Latium, all of them not very far from Aquinum (cf. 319), a favourite place of the poet, if not the scene of his birth. So he probably speaks of their cheapness from experience. **225**: *Oramus, si forte non molestum est Demonstres ubi sint tuae tenebrae.* Catull. 55 1. "your den." As to the dearness of house-rent in Rome, cf. Vell. Pat. ii 10, who informs us of the enormous rise in the century and a half preceding his time. Cic. Cael. 7. Becker, p. 22, Eng. ed. Rents had now (some seventy years after V. P.'s time) doubtless gone up still further. **226, 227**: Everything here is on a small scale, *hortulus*, *puteus brevis*, *tenues plantas*, resembling a passage in xi 78 79, where *parvo horto, focis brevibus*, *oluscula* are put together, and compare xi 137 138, xiv 66 67. But it is one's own property. **229**: *centum* is used here, as often in the poets, for an indefinite number. *Sume Maecenas cyathos amici Sospitis centum*, Hor. Od. iii 8 13 14. *Centum quadrijugos agitabo ad flumina currus*, Virg. Georg. iii 18; so *mille* at 8 and xii 46. The Pythagoreans were vulgarly held to be vegetarians xv 173. **231**: "To have made one's self the proprietor of a single lizard." There does not seem to be any difficulty in this expression;

lizards being so numerous in Italy that it would be next to impossible to be the owner of a garden, however small, in the country, without finding, at some time or other, a lizard upon it. "It is something to have a bit of land of one's own, however minute it may be."

232: sqq. The sense here is somewhat obscure. I take the meaning to be "Many an invalid (*i.e.*, of the poorer class) dies here from not being able to get to sleep—his disease itself being caused by indigestion. For how can one sleep in a garret? Rich men can sleep, it is true." *nam* refers back to the first clause, and explains why they are kept awake. *sed-stomacho* is thrown in parenthetically. "Indigestion brings on the illness, and want of sleep kills the patient," Macleane. *ipsum* for *illum* is better, and there is MS. authority for it. Why undigested food should be represented as the chief cause of sickness, it is difficult to see. It might be said to be the cause of rich men's indispositions, but that would not suit the context. Below we are told that sleeplessness is the *caput morbi.* It is impossible to make anything satisfactory out of all this, and there is a confusion in the passage resembling viii 192 sqq. I do not think that Heinrich is right in taking *aeger vigilando* together. *languor* is constantly used for a disease, illness; *languida uxor*, i 122. *peperit* is an aorist. Compare Plin. Epp. vii 27. *inhabitantibus tristes diraeque noctes per metum vigilabantur, vigiliam morbus . . . sequebatur.* **234**: *meritoria* are lodgings, like *coenacula,* x 18. They are joined together by Suetonius, who, in speaking of the poverty of Vitellius at one time of his life, gives as an instance that, on leaving Rome, he put his wife and children *meritorio coenaculo* into a rented lodging. **235**: *magnis opibus.* "Ce n'est qu'à prix d'argent qu'on dort en cette ville," Boileau, in his imitation. And so it is generally taken. I prefer, however, taking it as "rich men," as also at ix 100, *His opibus numquam cara est annona veneni.* "Les grandes fortunes" is similarly used, and χρήματα for "rich men," Soph. Ant. 782, *viribus* "strong men" in xv 104. For the general sentiment conveyed in this passage, compare *Nec cogitandi, Sparse, nec quiescendi In urbe locus est pauperi,* Mart xii 57, and again xii 68, and Hor. Epp. i 17 6; compare Juv.

vi 415 416. **236–238**: At this time as a rule the circulation of vehicles was forbidden in the streets of Rome, during the greater part of the day-light hours. There were certain exceptions, as, for instance, in the case of carts bringing in building materials (below 254 sqq.) There were other exceptions, mentioned by Friedländer, "Manners of the Romans," Book i, to which it would seem, from this satire, there might be added the case of removal from town to the country (10, 316), hence the night-traffic was particularly noisy. Seneca has humorously described the noises of the night in Epp. 122. Martial complains of the *mandrae*. *Vixque datur longas mulorum rumpere mandras*, Mart. v 22 7. *mandra* is properly a pen for cattle, and is hence used for the square of a chess-board, where the chess-man is as it were penned up, Mart. vii 72. *stantis convicia mandrae* means literally the abuse from the herd of cattle brought to a stand, *i.e.*, the abuse of the drovers. **238**: *Druso vitulisque marinis.* The Emperor Claudius, whose cognomen was Drusus, is described by Suetonius, Claud. 8, as having been very somnolent. His name may have passed into a proverb, and he may be meant here. *vituli marini* (i.q., *phocae*, Plin. H.N. ix 7. "Seals") are described by the same author as very sleepy, *nullum animal graviore somno premitur*, H.N. ix 13; Virg. Georg. iv 432. **239**: *si vocat off.* *ast vocat officium.* Pers. vi 27. The meaning here, as there, may be simply "If there is a call on him." **240**: Liburnian slaves from the north of Illyricum were much in favour at Rome as chairmen, criers, &c., iv 75, vi 477. They were doubtless strapping fellows. *horridus Liburnus*, Mart. i 50. *Liburno* is here, according to Macleane, the dative case, and the construction is *super ora Liburno*, "over his head," not over the people's heads; but this, I think, is wrong. Mr. Munro (ad i 13. Mayor's ed.) seems to understand "He is elevated over people's head by the huge stature of his Liburnians," making *ingenti Liburno* = proceritate Liburnorum; and this may be the correct rendering. **242**: This line is pronounced to be spurious by Heinrich. It is certainly a weak line. As for *lectica*, see i 32. *facit somnum* occurs below: *somnum rixa facit.* *clausa fenetras;* compare iv 21, *Quae vehitur clauso latis specularibus*

antro. Suetonius, Jul. Caes. 43, tells us that Julius Cæsar forbade the use of litters (as also purple robes and pearls), except to persons of a certain age and rank. But long before this, probably any one who could afford a *lectica* used one. **243**: sqq. Horace's description of the streets of Rome will recur to the mind. *Torquet nunc lapidem nunc ingens machina tignum, Tristia robustis luctantur funera plaustris*, etc., Epp. ii 2 72, sqq. *Vix ego lecticam subsequor*, says Martial, and again, *In turbam incideris, cunctos umbone repellet*, iii 46. **246**: *metretam. Plurimus Hispanas mittet mihi nauta metretas*, Mart. v 16; cf. Dict. G. and R. Ant. **248**: The hob-nails of soldiers' boots are again spoken of at xvi 25. **249–250**: Friedländer thinks a kind of pic-nic must be intended. **250**: *culina* was a kind of brazier in which the things were kept warm. **251**: *Corbulo.* Reference here may be made to the Roman General Corbulo, *qui omnium ora in se verteret, corpore ingens*, Tac. Ann. xiii 8, or it may be to some strong man unknown. **253**: *cursu.* By his rapid march, or perhaps, run. *Cursu in proelium ierant*, "at a great pace," Liv. ii 30. This pace, in the public streets, was thought beneath the dignity of a gentleman, and was peculiar to the slave. *Liberos homines per urbem modico magis par est gradu Ire, servile esse duco festinantem currere.* Plaut. Poen. iii 1 19. And Alexander Severus used to say *ingenuum currere nisi in certamine non debere.* Lamprid. Alex. Sev. 42. **254**: *tunicae sartae*, 150 151, and 171 172, note. **254–256**: *longa . . . vehunt. Nec in hunc usum pinus aut abies deferebatur longo vehiculorum ordine, vicis intrementibus*, Sen. Epp. 90. It is not impossible that in this passage Domitian's taste for building may be glanced at. *Non, ut ante*, says Pliny in his Panegyric on Trajan, *immanium transvectione saxorum urbis tecta quatiuntur*, c 51. And we are told by Spartian that Hadrian *Vehicula cum ingentibus sarcinis urbem ingredi prohibuit*, Hadr. 22, so that this part of the Satire, at any rate, must, one would think, have been written earlier. But see xi 204 note. **257**: *Quaeque trahi multo marmora fune vides*, Mart. v 22. *urbisque tumultu Portatur validis mille columna jugis*, Tibull. ii 6 25. *Nam* refers to *minantur. Saxa Ligustica*, "stone from the quarries of Liguria." All this timber and

stone was, of course, for building. *procubuit* and *fudit* are used as aorists, as very often in our author, *peperit* above, &c., &c. **253**: *montem*, "any great mass." Here it is applied appropriately to a mass of stones; cf. Stat. Theb. i 145. **261** : *domus*, as we should say, "the establishment," meaning the servants. *secura*, as *securos*, 196. They are preparing their master's bath and supper. **263**: *Striglibus. I puer et strigiles Crispini ad balnea defer*, Pers. v 126. These bath-scrapers have been found in England, and at first very much puzzled some of the antiquaries. See Wright's "Roman, Celt, and Saxon." *gutto*, a flask for dropping oil over the body, made of horn, in some cases that of the rhinoceros, *magno cum rhinocerote lavari Qui solet*, vii 130; and Martial writes of a *guttus corneus; Gestavit modo fronte me juvencus Verum rhinocerota me putabis*, xiv 52. It was also used in sacrifices, and was sometimes made of wood, Plin. H.N. xvi 38. **264**: *ille*, the master, not "the crushed slave," as Mr Escott has it. Juvenal again (see ii 150 sqq.) introduces Charon and Company, with great humour. *tetrum novicius horret Porthmea* resembles 175 176, *personae pallentis hiatum formidat rusticus infans.* We seem to see the miserable newcomer sitting on the bank and staring, in consternation, at the grim ferryman. **267**: *trientem*, the third part of an as; Charon's fee, *μισθὸς τῷ πορθμεῖ τῆς ναυτιλίας*, as Lucian terms it. *Nec Charon ille, Ditis et pater tantus deus, quidquam gratuito facit et pauper moriens viaticum debet quaerere*, App. Met. vi 121.

268: The poet now goes back to the night, in his usual discursive way, and points out some dangers among the *mille pericula saevae urbis*, which are peculiar to that time. *quod spatium* depends on *respice* (as Heinrich says); so does *quanto*, etc.; so does *quoties*, if the reading *cadant* be adopted, and in that case *testa* may mean "a tile." But if we read *cadunt*, *testa* must mean a piece of broken earthenware, part of the fragments of the *vasa*. *Respice* is simply "look to," "observe," as at x 275, and elsewhere. **269**: Pliny speaks of the height of the Roman houses, *altitudinem tectorum*, in a way which seems to imply that they were higher there than in other cities, H.N. iii 5. Those of Pompeii were mostly one-

storied. Augustus ordered that new buildings erected along the public ways should not be more than seventy feet high, according to Strabo. **272**: *laedere* is used here as in Ov. Her. ix 88, *ut Tegeaeus aper . . . Incubet et vasto pondere laedat humum.* **273**: The usual hour of dining with the Romans was from two to four o'clock. We must suppose that an entertainment is here meant. No doubt, however, there must have been great varieties in the hours of their meals, as with us. According to Horace, Maecenas seems to have dined at sunset. **275**: *vigiles . . . fenestrae* as *pervigiles popinae*, viii 158; *pervigilique toro*, xv 43. See note to vi 657 658. **277**: *patulas pelves*, i.e., their contents. **279, 280**: like Achilles, mourning the loss of his friend Patroclus. This is a clear reference to Homer, Il. xxiv 10 sq. Ἄλλοτ' ἐπὶ πλευρὰς κατακείμενος, ἄλλοτε δ' αὖτε Ὕπτιος, ἄλλοτε δὲ πρηνής, τότε δ' ὀρθὸς ἀναστάς. Juvenal was, in all probability, acquainted with the Greek language, and not merely with a few words of it; and when writing this passage, seems to have had in view the original lines of Homer, whom he often refers to. There is something very humorous in this comparison between the man who has *not* beaten any one, and the hero who has lost his friend. He longs to thump some innocent passer-by, as Achilles longed to kill Hector. **281**: *ergo non aliter*, etc. Umbricius continues speaking. "Won't he be able to get to sleep, without having done something of this kind, you will be inclined to ask? No," &c. Some consider this line spurious, as Heinecke and Ribbeck; and Heinrich says *poterit* is inadmissible. I see no objection either to the line as a whole or to the word.

283, 284: *mero*, properly, "with unmixed wine." *cavet hunc quem coccina laena*, etc., *i.e.*, the rich man. Horace says *Te bis Afro murice tinctae Vestiunt lanae, mihi parva rura*, etc., Od. ii 16 35. **286**: *deducere* is to escort on my way, Hor. Sat. i 9 59; and *reducere* is used in the same sense by Mart. ii 74. The poor man has the moon and his rush-light for an escort, in the place of the *comites* and the *multum flammarum*, &c. Compare with this passage, Plaut. Amphit. i 1 2, *Qui me alter est audacior homo, aut qui me confidentior Juventutis mores qui sciam: qui hoc noctis solus ambulem?* and Trin. ii 2 32,

Istaec ego mihi semper habui aetati tegumentum meae . . . Ne noctu irem obambulatum, neu suum adimerem alteri. According to Suetonius, the Emperor Otho, in his youth, *ferebatur et vagari noctibus solitus, atque invalidum quemque obviorum vel potulentum corripere,* and then to toss them in a blanket, Otho, 2; and so Nero. 26, and Tac. Ann. xiii. 25; and Appuleius alludes to the same sort of thing, *cave regrediare coena maturius. Nam vesana factio nobilissimorum juvenum pacem publicam infecit,* etc., Met. ii 32. These pastimes of young men have been reproduced in various ages and various countries. **287, 288**: *cognosce,* Virg. Ecl. vi 25. *filum.* "A single specimen of an ancient wick has been accidentally preserved. It consists of combed, but not spun, flax, twisted into a sort of string." Dyer, "Ruins of Pompeii." *candela,* like our "dip," was used by the poor. *candelis pauperes, locupletes cereis, utuntur.* Festus ap. Paul, lib. iii. quoted by Janus Macrob. Sat. i 7. **289**: *Ego vapulando, ille verberando, usque ambo defessi sumus,* Ter. Adelph. ii 2 5. **290**: *Stat contra,* "stands opposite to you;" and there is probably an allusion to the accuser confronting a defendant in a law court. *Stat contra, dicitque tibi tua pagina, Fur es,* Mart. i 54 12. See 298 note, and Juv. viii. 138. *Stat contra ratio,* Pers. v 96. **293**: *conche,* a kind of bean, which appears to have been boiled in the shell: a common dish among the poorer classes of Romans, Juv. xiv 131, and several times in Martial. *sectile porrum.* The *porrum,* or leek, was of two kinds, *sectile,* as here and in Mart. x 48, (elsewhere called *sectivum,* Juv. xiv 133, Mart. xiii 18. *porris fila resecta suis,* Mart. xi 52) and *capitatum,* Mart. xiii 19. The same author speaks of *utrumque porrum,* iii 47. It seems that the *sectivum* was sown more thickly, and cut as soon as it appeared above-ground; the *capitatum* allowed to grow to a head. **294**: *vervecis.* The sheep's head was another favourite dish among the poorer classes, Plaut. Capt. iv 2 40. The whole of this scene is very graphically described, and the "chaff" of the fast young Roman is intelligible in English, even when literally translated. **296**: "Where do you take up your stand, you beggar? What synagogue do you frequent, you Jew?" The *Proseucha* is said to mean "Jews' oratory,"—*i.e.*, a Jewish

place of prayer, erected for the use of those towns where there was no regular building for worship. I have translated "synagogue" for convenience—that being the word by which we usually designate all Jewish places of worship, whether regular or irregular, whatever the nature of the distinction between them may be. *In qua te quaer. pros.* is like *quae prima pericula vito?* Virg. Æn. iii 367. *Quem sequimur?* Id. 88. see on Juv. iv 130. **298**: *vadimonia faciunt,* at the end of the scene may correspond to *stat contra,* 290, note. Quintilian relates a story of a man threatening to strike an inferior, and then to sue him for hurting his hand.

302–304: You will meet with robbers in the streets, when all the houses and shops are shut up, and no help is to be had. I do not think burglars are meant, 305, note **303**: *catenatae.* Becker, Gallus, Sc. iv, gives another sense to this. He supposes that it refers to bottles fastened with chains to prevent their being purloined, and quotes Mart. vii 61, *Nulla catenatis pila est praecincta lagenis;* but I do not think there is much in this. **305**: *subitus,* "appearing suddenly," Valer. Flacc. iv 712; "swift," "springing upon you," *ex gr.*, darting upon you at a corner. I do not agree with Macleane in taking "subitus" to mean "that you start up from sleep, and find one of these men by your bed." Juvenal, with all his discursiveness, keeps to the streets in the latter part of this Satire. *grassator* here, as elsewhere, is "street-robber," "foot-pad." Tacit. has *veneno grassari,* Hist. iii 39. **306**: "You will find Rome especially dangerous at those times when the emperors take particular pains to make the Pomptine Marshes, &c., safe." The force of the satire will be readily perceived. Various essays were made at different times to drain these marshes, which still continue in their old state, and reference is supposed to be made here to an undertaking of this kind by Trajan. I do not see, however, why these lines should necessarily refer to drainage-works at all. The reference is, more likely, to efforts made every now and then to put down brigandage in those parts. **308**: Comp. Sall. Bell. Cat. 37. *Hi Romam, sicut in sentinam, confluxerant. Sic,* "as we see," Macleane. But *sic* goes with *tamquam; sic tamquam ad vivaria,* "just exactly as they would go to a game preserve." *sic*

tamquam alta in dolia longus Deciderit serpens, bibit et vomit, vi 431 432. *Nam et Odyssea Latina est, sic tamquam aliquod opus Daedali*, Cicero, Brut. 18. **310**: *maximus in vinclis ferri modus.* The greater part of iron has gone to make chains. A very similar expression occurs at xiv 276 277. *plus hominum est jam In pelago.* The larger part of mankind is at sea. If this had been anywhere near the truth, it might indeed have been said in the words of Herodotus, ὡς ἐπὶ κακῷ ἀνθρώπου σίδηρος ἀνεύρηται. *ut timeas*, "so as to make one fear." **314**: The "one prison" was the Carcer Mamertinus, said to have been built by Ancus Martius, Livy, i 33, and which has recently (1872) been thoroughly explored; "a passage, eighty yards long, nearly two high and one wide, having been excavated," according to a letter in the *Times*, dated March 18th. Mr. Long, Cic. Cat. ii 10, seems to imply that this was the only prison in Rome in Cicero's time. But this is clearly out of the question. Cf. Burn. Rome, &c., p. 80. **316**: Here the carriage comes up and the friends take leave of each other. Becker, Gall. sc. 4, takes this differently. He supposes the carriage to have been waiting outside the gate the whole time. In that case 10 must mean not "while his things are being packed up," but "his things being all ready packed," a sense it will hardly bear. B. founds his view on an edict of Claudius forbidding travellers to drive through the towns of Italy in a carriage. Suet. Claud. 25. But the edict does not seem to have been very strictly observed (cf. Friedl. vol. i, p. 41, Fr. ed.), and it does not follow, because carriages were not allowed in the streets of Rome, that what we might style a furniture-van was not permitted. How otherwise could furniture, &c., have been transported from one quarter to another? In any case U.'s vehicle could have come after him in the afternoon of a summer day. (Friedl. loc. cit. which would correspond with the indications here.) In the same strain, Martial concludes the tenth book of his epigrams, *Jam tumidus vocat magister, castigatque moras . . . vale libelle!* x 104 16, and Calpurnius at the end of his Fifth Eclogue has something still more like it, *Plura quidem monuisse velim: nam plura supersunt. Sed jam sera dies cadit.* Cf. note to vii 3. **317**: Another reading is *innuet*, here and at viii 153,

and this might be better. *annuere* generally means "to nod assent." **319**: *tuo Aquino*, perhaps "your favourite Aquinum." So Persius has *meum mare.* Suetonius, *Liviae . . . Veientanum suum revisenti*, her villa at Veii, Galb. 1. From this line, the authors of some of the early lives of Juvenal, and a vast number of subsequent critics, have derived the idea that Juvenal was born at Aquinum. If we translate *tuo Aquino*, "your Aquinum," leaving it uncertain why it was called "yours," we shall be safe. Beyond this, all is mere conjecture. **320**: *Helvinam* occurs nowhere else; and why this name is given to Ceres, we do not know. From coins found at Aquino it would seem that the old town Aquinum was under the protection of Minerva. An engraving is given of one in Dict. Gr. and R. Geog. Inscriptions have also been discovered showing the existence of various temples there, the ruins of some of which are still to be seen, and doubtless there was one of Ceres. An inscription has been found, and is given by Mommsen, I. R. N. 4312. *(Cere)ri, sacrum (D. Iu)nius Iuvenalis trib(unus) coh(ortis I) Delmatarum II (vir) quinq(uenalis) flamen Divi Vespasiani vovit dedicav(itq)ue sua pec(unia).* Cf. ad xvi 1. It certainly seems probable that this refers to our poet, and that *ri* is to be filled up, so as to make *Cereri.* **321**: Some read *converte*, which is equivalent to *convelle;* so *averteretur* and *avelleretur* are readings in Petron. 110. *ni pudet illas.* The Satires are personified, after J.'s fashion. **322**: *gelidos in agros.* This will be readily understood by any one acquainted with the site of Aquinum. *caligatus*, "in stout country shoes," "in my hob-nailed boots." The *caliga*, or military boot, was thickly studded with nails, above 248, xvi 24. It was worn by the common soldiers, Suet. Vitell. 7. Hence it has been held to mean "armed at all points;" as Pliny says of the country gentlemen of his time, *Sunt enim ut in castris, sic in literis nostris, plures cultu pagano quos cinctos et armatos et quidem ardentissimo ingenio diligentius scrutatus invenies*, Epp. vii 25. But this is rather far-fetched; and the meaning probably is, simply, "I will put on my travelling boots, and set off to pay you a visit." Umb. represents Juv. as able to *send* to Cumae after him. About this time Pliny asks his wife to write him two letters a day from Campania to Rome. But Pliny was a rich man.

INTRODUCTION TO SATIRE IV.

THE subject of this Satire, to which is prefixed a kind of introduction (1–36), which has not much to do with it, and which deals with the vices of the upstart court-favourite, Crispinus, is as follows:—

A turbot of unusual size has been caught in the nets of a fisherman at Ancona. The man determines to make a present of it to the Emperor, being quite sure that if he does not do so it will be seized upon for the imperial table. So off he starts for Alba, where Domitian holds his court. The Emperor is pleased with the fish and with the speech which the fisherman makes on presenting it; and finding that he has no dish large enough to contain it, summons his courtiers to a council. In they come, Pegasus, Crispus, Acilius, &c., and this gives the poet the opportunity of passing them in review and having a fling at each of them. At last, on the proposition of Montanus, it is decided that a special dish shall be forthwith made to contain the turbot. The council is dismissed and the scene closes.

And would, says Juvenal, that Domitian had never been guilty of anything worse than such absurd tomfooleries as these. The tyrant, after putting to death a number of the nobility, fell, as soon as he began to practise on the vulgar.

This Satire was probably published not long after the death of Domitian, when its subject would still retain some degree of freshness and interest. Line 103 would seem to show that it was written before Hadrian re-introduced the practice of wearing a beard.

Crispinus is represented as still wealthy, and we may believe, says Macleane, that his wealth did not stay with him long during the next reigns. But this by no means necessarily follows.

NOTES TO SATIRE IV.

1-36: There is a difficulty about this introductory part of the Satire, and some critics, such as Ribbeck, pronounce it spurious. This difficulty cannot be stated better than in the words of Mr Long. "The first thirty-six lines have no connection with the real subject of the Satire. The beginning of the prologue announces that Crispinus is again brought on the stage, and the writer declares his intention to summon him often to play his part. We expect that we are going to read a terrible invective against the fellow; but after a few general remarks about his villany, we are told that the present Satire will only treat of his smaller offences; and then comes the particular charge against him of buying a fish at an enormous price, and eating it himself. The mention of the fish is supposed to be a clever way of connecting the introduction with the real Satire, the subject of which is the great fish that was presented to Domitian. But what becomes of Crispinus after this flourish? He plays a most insignificant part in the scene before the Emperor, and says not a word about the big fish, though something would have been very much to the purpose from a man who was a buyer of fish, and in his early days cried them through the streets of Rome."

All this is true, and the first fifty-five lines of the eleventh Satire offer similar difficulties. Yet I am inclined to think that both these passages are Juvenal's work. They may have been written by him at a different time from the rest of the two satires, and subsequently fitted in by him to the places which they now respectively occupy, in accordance with a practice of his, of which I think several traces may be perceived, and which is distinctly referred to by the voice of the very old tradition which speaks in the supposed Life of Suetonius. Moreover Juvenal is exceedingly discursive. The mention of the mullet at 15 may have suggested to him Do-

mitian's turbot, and he may have thrown aside Crispinus, and gone on to his new subject. The former hypothesis I think the more probable. This is perhaps a draft introduction to an intended satire never completed. Plenty of similar examples of "dove-tailing" may be found in the moderns. The vice of the commentators is that they never apply the same laws to the ancients as to the moderns; *ex gr.*, bad grammar is to be found in Addison, but is never admitted in a classical author, and pages of useless disquisitions are often written.

1, 2: *iterum* properly means "a second time." ***vocandus ad partes.*** A metaphor from the stage. It does not necessarily mean, "whom I shall often have to summon to play his part." The meaning may be, "who ought often to be summoned by me," &c., as ***conducendus magister***, who ought to be engaged as a professor, ii 114, and perhaps ***ponenda*** at iii 56. **3, 4**: Another reading is ***aeger solaque libidine fortis, Delicias viduae*** . . . but ours is the reading of P. ***deliciae*** is here "a minion;" cf. Mart. viii 48, *Non quicumque capit saturatas murice vestes Nec nisi deliciis convenit iste color*, where the term "deliciae" is, by implication, bestowed on this very Crispinus, though in what precise sense is not clear. It does not seem impossible that Juvenal may have had this epigram in his mind, when using the epithet. Cf. Quint., Inst. i 2, *verba ne Alexandrinis quidem permittenda deliciis.* ***deliciae***, when applied to a man, has almost always, in later writers, an indecent sense (Petron. 68, &c.), Stat. Silv. v 5, 67, and is so defined by Plutarch, Anton. 59, 'Οδε Σάρμεντος ἦν τῶν Καίσαρος παιγνίων παιδάριον, ἃ δηλίκια 'Ρωμαῖοι καλοῦσι. So also ***delicatus*** and *delicata.* With the other reading, Heinrich renders *delicias* by "amours" and quotes Cic. pro Cael. 19, ***Amores et*** *hae deliciae quae vocantur.* This may also be the meaning in Catull. 6, *Flavi, delicias tuas Catullo, Ni sint illepidae atque inelegantes, Velles dicere nec tacere posses*, though I think the sense there is "your sweet-heart," and *dicere* is "to name." An intrigue with a widow or virgin would be properly *stuprum*, not *adulterium*; and the defenceless position of a single woman would, in the eyes of Crispinus, deprive such an amour of all charms. *Non ita me Di ament, auderet haec facere viduae mulieri Quae in me fecit*, Ter. Heaut. Tim. v 1 80.

He would not dare to act thus even towards an unprotected woman. And cf. Petron. 95. **4, 5**: *jumenta*, which has survived in the French "jument," applied exclusively to mares, was more widely applied in Latin. At iii 316 317, it means mules, as at vii 180 181, where, as here, they are driven up and down in porticoes, which were covered walks or colonnades attached to the houses of the great. **6**: *vectetur*, sc., in his lectica or sella. **7**: *aedes (vicinas foro)*—What does it matter, how large are his investments in town property?—which would, of course, be the most expensive of all property to buy. **8, 9**: *corruptor . . . incestus.* A man who adds incest to seduction. It would be incest to lie with a vestal virgin. Vestal virgins who violated their vows of chastity were buried alive. The male was scourged to death. But, according to Suetonius, the peccadilloes of vestals were not very closely looked after in the reigns of Vespasian and Titus. Domitian re-introduced the old severity on the subject, and put a few of these women to death. We must suppose what is here related of Crispinus to be true; still, it is rather remarkable that so singular a fact as a favourite of the Emperor seducing a vestal, who was buried alive, while he himself got off scot-free, should not be mentioned elsewhere. Heinrich's idea that *subitura* here means "at the risk of," &c., cannot be entertained. From what the poet says, it seems to have been notorious that Crispin. had "lately"—under Domitian it is to be presumed—lain with a vestal. If so, *she* would have been put to death, and it is safer to keep to the ordinary sense of the fut. participle. **12**: *judex morum.* Domitian is alluded to, who assumed the censorship for life. For *caderent*, cf. vii 70, note. **13**: *Titius* and *Seius* were the John Doe and Richard Roe of Roman legal proceedings. So *Caius* and *Caia* (in wedding ceremonies particularly), and we find *Caius Seius*, "John Jones." The sentiment here may have been copied by Macaulay in one of his essays (who immediately before quotes some lines from this Satire). "The vices of honest men are the virtues of Barère." And something not unlike it is to be found in Cicero, in Verrem, 5 44. **14**: *dira et foedior*, I take to be the same as *dirior et foedior*, see ii 122

note. *quid agas . . . persona est?* is parenthetical, but it is not very happily introduced. **15, 16** : He bought the mullet (or sea-barbel) for six thousand sesterces, or six sestertia (a sestertium being a thousand sesterces) about £46 17. 6. The pounds in the mullet equalled the *sestertia* paid, that is to say it weighed six pounds. The Roman pound was eleven ounces avoirdupois. Pliny, H. N. ix 17 18, speaks of a mullet which was bought for eight thousand sesterces, and of another caught in the Red Sea, eighty pounds in weight, which is clearly fabulous. He says that a fish had come to cost what a cook used to cost, which is very like Juvenal's remark at 25–26. **18** : *artificis.* Ribbeck objects to this word, "that he should be called merely an *artifex*, without the immediate mention of the sphere in which his art is exercised, is, as far as I know, without precedent." Yet, I think it will stand very well, and that all this is hypercriticism. Macrobius uses *opifex* alone, precisely in this sense, *i.e.*, of a man who wanted to get something out of Augustus, Saturn. ii 4, "the artist,"—as we should say. **21** : *clauso antro,* "in her closed chair." These seem to have been used only by wives of senators, at any rate in the time of Dion. Cass. Cf. 57. 15. *latis specularibus.* The *lapis specularis* was apparently what we call talc, Plin. H. N. xxi 14, xix 5, &c. Seneca says it only came into use in his day, Epp. 90. Cf. Id. de Prov. 4. The Romans were, however, acquainted with glass. **23** : *Apicius,* the well-known "bon-vivant," in the time of Tiberius. He is called *miser et frugi* ironically, in comparison with Crispinus. **24** : *succinctus,* girt about the loins. It means also sometimes thinly, poorly clad, almost naked, as in Mart. ii 46. for *succ.* nom. with *Crisp.* voc. cf. Zumpt, § 492. *papyro.* He was a native of Egypt, i 26 and note. **29** : *piscis,* namely "the barbel, or mullet," 16. *Provincia,* the French "la province." **27** : *sed,* "Yes, and moreover." Why land should be so much cheaper in Apulia, we do not know, In. ix 54 55, *praedia Appula* are spoken of as valuable. He must refer to some of the less fertile land there, which was very dry and arid, *siticulosa Apulia,* Hor. *deserta Apuliae,* Sen. Epp. 87, and unhealthy, Varro R.R. i 6. It is possible, moreover, that at the time when this was

written a considerable number of estates in Apulia may have been in the market. Compare Plin. Epp. vi 19. **28**: sqq. This forms the transition (not a very violent one) to what follows. **29, 30**: Compare Mart. v 70 5. *O quanta est gula centies comesse.* One poet represents the glutton as devouring so much money, the other as belching it forth. In ix 49 8, Martial has the latter not very choice image, as well as Juvenal, *Ructat adhuc aprum callida Roma meum.* **31**: On the form of the gen. *Palati*, cf. Coningt. Virg. Georg. iv 564. **32**: There was no such official as a *princeps equitum* (*Princeps equestris ordinis* occurs elsewhere, *ex. gr.*, Plin. Epp. i 14, for a distinguished knight). Here the meaning is that Crispinus has got to be one of the chiefs, or most important men, among the knights. The term is probably used sarcastically, a "knight of the first water." Compare xiii 138 139. *gemmaque princeps Sardonychum.* **33**: *municipes*, literally, "from the same municipium." So *municipes Jovis lagenas*, xiv 271. *fricta.* One of the numerous readings, or rather suggestions, here is *pacta.* In Mart. iii 66, *pactis* is found in some MSS. for *Phariis*, Egyptian, which is the right reading there. *Pharia* might be the word used by Juvenal. But I prefer *fracta*, as far more forcible than the other readings. *fricta* is the next best. **34**: *Calliope* is here addressed, on behalf of all the Muses, as in Virg. Aen. ix 525, *vos, O Calliope! precor aspirate canenti*, and often elsewhere. *licet et considere*, "and you may sit down too." A person, who sings, usually stands up; but this is not a case for singing. So he tells the Muse she may sit down, and relate the story. It must be borne in mind that the whole of this Satire is pitched to a comic key. **36**: *puellas*, with a dash of satire; as Orpheus, Linus, and others were represented in mythology as sons of one or other of the Muses.

37: *Semianimum.* On the scansion, cf. Zumpt, § 3. **38**: Domitian was bald, Suet. Domit. 18. "The bald Nero," from his resemblance in point of tyranny to that monster. Juvenal hated them both, as he often shows, and here couples them together. Domitian was also the last of the Flavian family, which was "founded" in our modern sense by Vespasian. Mr. Pretor and one of his reviewers (*Sat. Rev.* July

3, 1869) see in the lines of Persius, ***nugaris, cum tibi calve*** *Pinguis aqualiculus protenso sesquipede* ***exstet***, "a hit at Nero's personal appearance." But if Nero himself was bald, Juvenal would never have called Domitian, "a bald edition of Nero," and we have no authority whatever for supposing that Nero was anything of the kind. On the contrary, Suetonius, who notes all these little points of personal appearance, says that his hair was inclining to yellow. *lacerarel*, like a wild beast; cf. vi 625. *provinciae avaritia tyrannorum laceratae.* Capit. Max. et Balb. 17. **39**: *sp. adm. rhombi.* This is like ***jucunda senectus Crispi***, 81; *Montani venter*, 107; *Nestoris hernia*, vi 326; *sententia dia Catonis*, Hor. Sat. i 2 32; *odora canum vis*, Virg.; *Βιή Πριάμοιο*, Hom.; *ingemuit corvi deceptus stupor*, Phaedr.; *amor Herculis*, Propert. i 13; *robur Herculeum*, Valer. Flacc. &c., &c. **40**: *Ancon*, founded by refugees from Syracuse, escaping the tyranny of Dionysius (this is why Juvenal calls it ***Dorica***); a town on the Adriatic, the modern Ancona. There was probably a temple of Venus there. *sustinet*, "holds up," may mean, as Macleane says, that this temple was on the lofty hill that surrounds the headland. **46**: All the Emperors, from the time of Augustus, bore the title of Pontifex Maximus. See note to 72. There is perhaps an allusion to the "Pontifical dinners," Hor. Od. ii 14 28, Mart. xii 48. **49**: *nudo*, probably, means here "helpless," as at v 163, vi 232. From the fact that *nudus* does sometimes mean "with only a tunic on" (ii 71, note), extraordinary efforts are made by commentators to give that sense to it in passages where such a sense is wholly inadmissible: as if to show that they were aware that it had another meaning besides the ordinary one of "naked." So, Mr. Escott says that the informers "would pounce down upon the fisherman just as he was, *with only his tunic on.*" Just as if the toga was the usual attire of Roman fishermen when they had done their day's work. It is, moreover, possible that *nudus* may mean simply "naked," for we learn from a passage of Aurelius Victor de Caesar. 16, that the fishermen of Campania *plerumque nudi agunt*, where the context shows that "naked" is meant. **51, 52**: Compare Mart. iv 30. *Baiano procul a lacu monemus Piscator fuge ne nocens recedas, Sacris piscibus hae natantur undae Qui norunt dominum man-*

umque lambunt Illam qua nihil est in urbe majus. **53**: A *Palfurius* is mentioned by Suet. Domit. 13. *Armillatus* is unknown. These men are generally taken to be informers. But the context would seem to show that they were rather jurists and writers on law, exaggerators of the imperial prerogative, or perhaps senators or others, usually retained to conduct suits relating to the privy purse. *Si quid credimus*, in our idiom, "If we are to believe Palfurius," &c. **56**: *ne pereat*, "lest it should be wasted, thrown away," vii 174 and 222, i 18 note. He would rather present it to the Emperor (by which he might gain something) than put it back into the sea.

56, 57: *letif. Autum.* Cf. vi 517. *Plumbeus Ansler, Autumnusque gravis Libitinae quaestus Acerbae*, Hor. Sat. ii 6 19, and see Epp. i 16 16, Od. iii 23 8. *imbrifero pallens Autumnus hiatu*, Stat. Silv. ii 1 217. **57**: *quartanam sperantibus*, "hoping that their fever will turn into a quartan," *i.e.*, will begin to mend. *Sed cum in quartanam conversa vis est morbi, spero te, diligentia adhibita, etiam firmiorem fore*, Cic. ad Tir. 11, quoted by Macleane. *Quartana nemincm jugulat, sed si ex ea facta quotidiana est, in malis aeger est*, Celsus. Mart. x 77 3. **58, 59**: *stridebat, servabat, propcrat.* These changes of tense are exceedingly common in our author; he goes from past to present and back again, all through this Satire. The moderns do the same thing. **59**: *velut urgeat Auster*, "as if the south wind drove him on;" "as if the south wind were blowing," which it did in autumn, 56 57, note. It would necessarily be unfavourable to the fish being kept fresh, *Praesentes Austri coquite horum opsonia*, Hor. Sat. ii 2 41, and *leni fuit Austro captus* (of a boar). Whereas, says the poet, it was winter, and there was no necessity for hurrying. It may be remarked, that whether it was winter or summer, there would be a very strong necessity for a fisherman to hurry, who wished to take a fish all the way from Ancona to Alba; but the tone of the whole Satire is that of burlesque, and such a difficulty need not trouble us. **59, 60**: *Servabat* occurs in one line, and *servat* in the next, after a kind of trick of the poet's.

60: *lacus*, Lago Albano. **61**: *Alba*, the favourite residence of Domitian, Mart. v i, Stat. Silv. v 2 168. The

scholiast says that when the Romans, under Tullus Hostilius, destroyed Alba, they would have removed the sacred things to Rome, but they were prevented by a great hail-storm. *Vestam minorem, i.e.*, compared with the temple at Rome. **65**: *Atriden* is the Emperor: Agamemnon was "the king of men." *Picens*, the fisherman, because Ancona was in Picenum. **66**: *privatis majora focis;* cf. iii 203, note. *priv.* means here "for any but that of a sovereign." **67**: *stomachum laxare saginis*, the same meaning as *ventrem saginare.* Jahn reads here *saginae* with the sense "relieve your stomach (by emetics), to make way for the fish." If there were MS. authority for this, it would be preferable. Ovell. compares the construction with Hor. Sat. ii 6 83. *ut tamen artum solveret hospitiis animum.* **69**: *Ipse capi voluit.* I have often thought that this might be a parody on Martial, ix. 32 5. The epigram in question is on the subject of a goose which Velius Crispus had offered as a sacrifice to Mars on behalf of this same Emperor Domitian. *Dum comes Arctois haereret Caesaris armis Velius hanc Marti pro duce vovit avem;* and the poet adds quite seriously, *Ipse suas anser properavit laetus ad aras* (see note to Juv. xii 5), an expression to the full as ludicrous as the *ipse capi voluit* of the text. Martial has another expression recalling this one, on a bee enclosed in amber, *Credibile est ipsam sic voluisse mori*, iv 32. *ipse* for "of his own accord" is very common. Virg. Ecl. iv 21, &c. **72**: *laudatur dis aequa potestas*, is addressed, in fulsome terms, as equal to the gods. So *dominum regemque, salutat*, viii 161. Here again, Juvenal may not impossibly have had in view the fulsome epigrams of Martial on the tyrant. *potestas* may here be used personally, "a potentate," as *tum sic jocata est tanti majestas ducis*, Phaedr. ii 5. "His majesty, the great Emperor." *pot.* was common in this sense at a later period, *ex. gr.*, Vopisc. Saturn. 9. Cf. Suet. Domit. 13, where this same tyrant styles himself *Dominus et Deus noster.* Statius calls the Emperor's palace *divina domus*, and the Emperor *deus. sed deerat . . . mensura.* It must have been like a turbot mentioned by Martial, *Quamvis lata gerat patella rhombum Rhombus latior est tamen patella*, xiii 81. **72**: sqq. The Senators are called in to pronounce their opinion on the

turbot. Such an event may have taken place. Pliny the younger speaks of the time of Domitian as one *cum senatus aut ad otium summum, aut ad summum nefas vocaretur, et modo ludibrio, modo dolori retentus, numquam seria, tristia saepe censeret,* Epp. viii 14. *Pontificis maximi jure, seu potius immanitate tyranni reliquos Pontifices, non in regiam, sed in Albanam villam convocavit (Domitianus),* Plin. Epp. iv 11. This was with regard to the Vestal Cornelia, above 10. **74**: *miserae magnaeque amicitiae,* v 14. Pliny has *amicitiae tam superiores quam minores,* friendships with those above, and those below you, Epp. vii 3. *insignes amicitiae,* the friendships of the great, Tac. Hist. i 10. *magnae inimicitiae,* Id. ii. 53. *minores amici.* Plin. Epp. ii 6. We should, rather, reverse the terms; "a distinguished, and a very miserable, friendship." According to Trajan, though Domitian was a scoundrel, he had virtuous friends about him. Lamprid. Alex. Sev. 65. **75**: *Liburno,* iii 240, note. **76**: *Currite, jam sedit.* They might well be in a hurry, cf. 146, note. **77**: *Pegasus* was an eminent jurist. He had lately been appointed *Praefectus Urbi,* which, says the poet, meant nothing more at this time than the Emperor's bailiff. Possibly there is a reminiscence of Cic. pro Planc. 25, where *villicus* is similarly used. *attonitae* expresses the condition of the city and the whole Roman world at that dreadful period, *semianimus,* 37. **80, 81**: *Temporibus . . . Justitia.* He was not firm enough. He thought that justice, unarmed (divested of her terrors), was sufficient to cope with the abuses round him. **82**: *Crispi jucunda senectus,* 39, note. Vibius Crispus, an orator often mentioned by Quintilian, who speaks of him as *vir ingenii jucundi et elegantis,* v 13 48. Tacitus speaks less favourably, Hist. ii 10. A well-known bon-mot of his is related by Suetonius, Domit. 3. **84**: *clade et peste* refer to Domitian. Others render, wrongly, "in those fatal and accursed times." Plautus calls a parasite, jocularly, *clades calamitasque,* Capt. iv 4 3; and Nero is styled *pestis* in Sen. Oct. 240. Cicero applies the term to Verres. Verr. ii 1 38. *malum, fulmen, pernicies, labes, tempestas, lues, coenum,* are similarly used of persons. So μῖσος, κακόν, &c., in Gr. **86**: *violentius,* "more ticklish," Gifford; and this is very near the meaning. The Emperor's courtiers and friends felt

that their lives were in his hands, when talking to him on the most indifferent subjects, "the weather and the crops," as we should say; *a fortiori* if they had presumed to offer advice. So Crispus did not attempt it. I do not think there is any particular emphasis on *amici*; cf. 74 75. *pendebat*, "hung suspended in the balance." Pliny, in his panegyric on Trajan, describes the miserable fears of those who were brought into contact with Domitian, in terms which, *mutatis mutandis*, would apply to any tyrant (c. 48), and which throw a light on this Satire. *Observabantur foribus horror et minae, et par metus admissis et exclusis. Ad haec ipse occursu quoque visuque terribilis: superbia in fronte, ira in oculis, femineus pallor in corpore, in ore impudentia, multo rubore suffusa. Non adire quisquam, non alloqui audebat, tenebras semper secretumque captantem; nec umquam ex solitudine sua prodeuntem, nisi ut solitudinem faceret*, a passage which exhibits the vigour of Tacitus and Juvenal. **87**: *aut nimboso.* For the prosody, cf. Zumpt, § 841, note.

89: sqq. He was not the man to swim against the stream, or to make a martyr of himself by speaking his mind; so he reached a good old age, 93. *armis* is evidently armour for defence, and must not be rendered "weapons." **91**: *libera proferre.* ἐλεύθερα βάζειν, Æschyl. Pers. **92**: *vitam impendere vero.* So *patriae impendere vitam*, Lucan ii 382. *vitam impendere famae*, Stat. Silv. v 1 63, where *rependere* is another reading. **94**: *Acilius.* This is in all probability the father of M. Acilius Glabrio, the *juvenis* of the next line. The latter was consul with Trajan, A.D. 91, and afterwards put to death by Domitian, as related by Dio. lxvii 14; who also says he fought in the arena, though he represents him as having done so by order of the Emperor, not voluntarily. **96**: *festinatis annis raptus*, Mart. vii 40, *i.e.*, "prematurely." **96, 97**: *olim . . . est.* This, Heinrich says, is a striking conjunction of a past adverb with the present tense. There is another instance in Juvenal, vi 346. *Audio quid veteres olim moneatis amici. Olim nescio quid sit otium quid quies*, Plin. Epp. viii 9. It is indeed extremely common, and that not merely in later writers, as it is found in Ovid, Met. xi 508 509, and often in Virgil (Aen. v 125, &c.), though mostly post-Aug. It seems to be used with the pres. as *jampridem*, *i.e.*, as indicat-

ing something that has been in past time and still continues to be. *Quondam* with the pres. is similarly used. We might say, "long since, an old nobleman is a prodigy." *rarissima res in aula senectus.* Sen. de Ir. ii 33. **97**: *prodigio . . . senectus.* This is, of course, a poetical exaggeration, after the manner of all satirists. Compare vi 594, xiv 220. **97**: *fraterculus gigantis.* The Giants were fabled to be the sons of the earth, γηγενεῖς. Obscure men, who had no ancestry to speak of, were also called sons of the earth. *progenies terrae,* Pers. vi 57; *terrae filius,* Ib. 59. Cic. ad Div. vii 9. We speak of "mushroom nobility," in the same sense. The poet says, "I would rather be a diminutive member of the giant family, and like them have no pedigree, than be a nobleman in a time so dangerous to men of mark." **100**: *Figebat,* i 23. *Numidas.* This is a substantive used adjectively as *Numidas leones,* Ov. A. Am. ii 183. *cineri Sychaeo,* Virg. Aen. iv 552, &c. "Pliny, 8 83, denies that there are bears in Africa: but they are mentioned by Herodotus and Solinus: Virg., too, is followed by Martial and Juvenal, the latter, perhaps, an independent authority. They do not appear to have been found there by modern travellers." Coningt. Virg. Aen. v 38. Juvenal, however, is anything but an authority on natural history. See note on xiv 77. Dion Cass., 67 14, speaks of Domitian forcing nobles to fight with wild beasts. **101**: *intelligat, miratur.* For the subjunctive in one clause, and the indicative in another, Heinrich refers to iii 296, *Ede ubi consistas, in qua te quaero proseucha*; but the construction there is not quite the same, cf. 130 note. Juvenal says, it is all very well for the patricians to try to curry favour by fighting in the arena, &c.; but every one is up to their tricks nowadays. We are no longer in the period when Brutus could impose on Tarquinius Superbus, *barbato regi,* a king of the old school. Roman beards had been usually shaved since B.C. 300. Not long after the date of this Satire, the fashion of wearing the beard was reintroduced by Hadrian. **103**: for *imponere* in this sense, Mart. iii 57, iv 10 10. **104**: *quamvis ignobilis,* "though he was not a nobleman," and consequently was not exposed to so great a risk, 97. **105**: *Rubrius.* This may be Rubrius Gallus, who deserted Nero

in his contest with Otho. There was also another Rubrius Gallus, consul suffectus in A.D. 101. But nothing certain is known either of the man or of his offence. The explanations of the scholiasts look like their usual concoctions from the text. **106**: *satiram scribente cinaedo* is by some referred to Nero, who, besides epic poems, viii 221, seems to have written satires, Suet. Domit. i, and cf. Ner. 52. **107**: *Montanus.* This *may* be Curtius Montanus, exiled on the charge of libelling Nero. He is often mentioned by Tacitus, and two letters of the younger Pliny are written to him. **108**: *amomum* was an Assyrian shrub, described by Pliny, H. N. xii 13. Perfumes were generally supposed by the poets to come from Assyria. *Canos odorati capillos Dum licet, Assyriaque nardo Potamus uncti,* Hor. Od. ii 11 15. *Assyrios odores,* Tibull. i 3 7. *matutino* means simply that he perfumed himself in the morning, instead of waiting till dinner time. **109**: Corpses were smeared with unguent. Persius speaks of one *crassis lutatus amomis,* iii 104. Compare the above-quoted passage from Tibullus, *Nec soror, Assyrios cineri quae dedat odores.* Aromatics of various kinds were placed on the funeral pile. For passages illustrating this custom, cf. Becker's Gallus, Excursus 12, "Interment of the Dead." **110**: *Pompeius.* Nothing is known of the man. He is said "to cut people's throats with a whisper," because he was the cause of their being put to death, iii 37 and 116, vi 414 415. Prof. Jebb renders neatly, "to slit windpipes with the fine edge of slander." Ad Soph. Aj. 148.

112: Mart. has an ep. on Fuscus, vi 76. He commanded an expedition against the Dacians, in which he perished. Hence he is represented as "preserving his entrails for the vultures of Dacia." Two different senses have been assigned to the words *marmorea meditatus proelia villa*: (1) that he studied the art of war in his marble villa; (2) "that the degrading life of a Roman senator of his day did not suit him. He longed for active service," Macleane. I think the first is the meaning; it is far more forcible and agrees better with the satirical tone of the preceding words, *qui vulturibus servabat viscera Dacis.* Nor need we be very much embarrassed by the fact that this same Fuscus had really been a

distinguished man in the field, many years before this, when he was *vigens aetate*, Tac. Hist. ii 86. Our author is not always remarkable for historical accuracy. This man, in later life, had become a courtier of Domitian, and so the poet sneers at him; it is only a sneer, no worse. The same remark may be applied to Montanus 107, of whom all that we know otherwise than from this Satire (and xi 34, if he be again mentioned there) is very favourable. *meditatur proelia* occurs at vii 128, of a statue with a lance in its hand.

113: *Veiento* (iii 185 note) and *Catullus* are coupled together by Pliny, Epp. iv 22, where the latter is spoken of as *luminibus orbatus.* He was blind. It has, however, been held by some commentators that he could not have been entirely deprived of sight, otherwise his praise of the turbot, 119 sqq., could not have pleased the tyrant. But those who indulge in this sort of criticism, seem to me not to apprehend the manner of Juvenal, especially the whole tone of this Satire. He often introduces his most powerful effects, regardless of minutiae, and in so doing, assumes no more than the usual poetical license. Supposing the whole of this scene to have had a foundation in fact, the details are, of course, invented by Juvenal, who was not there to witness them, and who, knowing Catullus to have been blind, put him in to heighten the effect. **114**: This may either mean that he was in the habit of burning with love for girls he could not see, or it may refer to a particular case. **116**: *dirusque a ponte satelles.* The commentators all take this to mean, "formerly a common beggar at the bridges, now a dreaded satellite of the tyrant." The bridges seem to have been favourite stations for mendicants, v 8 and xiv. 134, where *aliquis de ponte* is used for "a beggar." *In sublicium pontem me transfer, et inter egentes abjice,* "suppose me reduced to beggary." Sen. de Vit. Beat. 25. Mart. x 5 3, xii. 32 25. But if Catullus Messallinus, who had filled high offices in the reigns of Vespasian and Titus, really had been a beggar originally, the two following lines, 117 118, which represent him as worthy of being one, would lose a great deal of their force. I think *satelles a ponte* means "a satellite, such as one might pick up at one of the bridges," "a beggarly flatterer." (Mr. Escott has "a beggar, *fresh*

from the bridges," apparently ignorant of the fact that Catullus had been a Roman governor, and most probably a consul, many years before this.) **117**: The Arician hill swarmed with beggars, Mart. ii 19 3, xii 32 10. **118**: *blanda*, "sweet," satirically. This is better than to translate "fulsome." *jactare basia* here, and in Phaedr. v 7, and Mart. i 4 (according to one reading) is the same as *jacere oscula*, Tacit. Hist. i 36. *a facie jactare manus*, Juv. iii, "to blow kisses." *non qualia in lupanari solent basiola jactari*, App. Met. x 225. **121**: *Cilicis.* Cilician gladiators were common. *ictus;* cf. vi 261, *monstratos perferat ictus.* It means here the cuts and thrusts of the gladiator, *i.e.*, his swordmanship. *pegma*, a stage-machine of great height, which was raised and lowered at pleasure, Dict. G. and R. Ant. "Pegma." They were used to give effect to scenes where considerable elevation was required, *ex. gr.*, where Daedalus was shown attempting to fly, or Hercules was carried up to heaven on the back of a bull, Mart. Sp. 8 and 16. *pegmata per se surgentia*, Sen. Epp. 88, seeming to rise spontaneously.

123: sqq. Veiento now cuts in, and is not to be beaten, even when he has heard a blind man praising the appearance of a turbot. He bursts into divination. Some mighty triumph is at hand for the Roman arms. Arviragus (some chief is meant) will tumble out of his chariot. The fish is so extraordinary, it must be a foreign one! He sees stakes in the place of fins! Comp. Ov. Met. viii. 285 286. In short, he is inspired (*fanaticus*, &c.), and gives vent to all sorts of absurdities. All this is broad farce, and so is what follows, and the whole is pitched to the key of *ipse capi voluit.* Of this Veiento, Pliny, Epp. iv 22, says, *Dixi omnia cum hominem nominavi.* What Juv. means by *sudes*, here (or perhaps rather, what he supposes Veiento to mean), can only be conjectured; for the word which means "stakes" is not, as far as I know, applied anywhere else to a part of a fish. Some take it as "fins." I have rendered "bristles." In fact, it is impossible to say what it means, or whether it is intended to have a definite meaning—the whole tone being that of burlesque. **126**: Perhaps imitated from Virg. Aen. xii 470. **128**: *Hoc defuit unum.* Satirical, as *Id vero deerat ut cum Pallante aucto-*

ritate publica ageretur. Plin. Epp. viii 6. **129**: *Fabricio.* This is Veiento, whose name was Fabricius Veiento. Horace makes his epicure say, *Piscibus atque avibus quae natura et foret aetas Ante meum nulli patuit quaesita palatum*, Sat. ii 4 45. Here the meaning is, If Fabricius Veiento could only have indicated the age and the country of the fish, his information about it, and about what it portended, would have been quite complete. Petronius has a turn of expression very similar to this, *Intestinas meas noverat, tantumque non dixerat quid pridie coenaveram*, 76. **130** : *censes, conciditur*, the present, as in *In qua te quaero proseucha?* iii 296. *Quem sequimur?* Virg. Aen. iii 88. *quae prima pericula vito?* Id. 367, Catull. i 1, &c. **131** : *testa alta paretur. deerat pisci patinae mensura*, 72, and this is why they are summoned. **132** : *orbem*, "the circumference of the fish." **133** : *Prometheus, i.e.*, "a potter." **135**: *castra*, Heinrich takes as equivalent to "palace." I think it is designedly put into the speaker's mouth to signify "camp." It implies a compliment to Domitian, in his capacity of general, of which we know that he was very vain. He is called *dux magnus* below, 145.

136: sqq. These orgies of Nero, protracted into midnight, are related by Sueton, Ner. 27. *al. fam.* is the second appetite caused by emetics, or it may be by wine. *pulmo* must be taken as "the inside" generally. **140** : *Circeii* in Campania was famed for its oysters. *Murice Baiano melior Lucrina peloris Ostrea Circaeis, Miseno oriuntur echini*, Hor. Sat. ii 4 32, and Pliny says, *neque dulciora, neque teneriora esse ulla compertum est*, H. V. xxii 6. **141** : *non me Lucrina juverint conchylia Magisve rhombus aut scari*, Hor. Epod. 2 49. *Concha Lucrini delicatior stagni*, Mart. v 37, and often elsewhere. From these passages it would appear that Lucrine and Circaean oysters were in about equal favour. The fondness of the Romans for oysters is well known, cf. vi 302. The authorities on the subject are summed up in an article of the *Edinburgh Review* for 1867. *Rutupiae* is Richborough in Kent, where Roman remains are still to be seen. **145**: *Consilio* or *concilio*. These words are constantly interchanged. Either may stand here. *Conc.* will mean simply "the council, assembly." *Cons.* perhaps with an implied reference to the

Senate, "*Le grand conseil.*" **146**: *attonitos et festinare coactos.* This very closely resembles an expression in Pliny's Panegyr. c. 48, who tells us that those who were summoned to Domitian's councils, went there *attoniti, ut periculum capitis adituri tarditate.* **147**: *Catti* and *Sicambri*, German tribes, cf. Dict. G. and R. Geog. Domitian led an army against the former. **148**: *diversis*, I have translated "opposite," which I think is the meaning here. Compare vii 156, *quae veniant diversa parte sagittae*, and note. **149**: *anxia* applied to a letter, cf. vi 657 note. When a general transmitted news of a victory to the Senate, a bay-leaf was stuck in the letter. *missa est a Caesare laurus*, Pers. vi 43. *Literae a Posthumio laureatae sequuntur*, Liv. v 28. Plin. H. N. xv 30. *Ipse lauream gestae prospere rei ad fratrem misit*, Tac. Hist. iii 77; Ov. Am. i 11 25; Lamprid. Alex. Sev. 58 and note of Salmas. The scholiast adds that when news of a defeat was conveyed, a feather was inserted; but there is no authority that I know of for this, unless it has been inferred from Stat. Silv. v 1 92 93. Probably the expression means merely "on hurried wing."

150: sqq. A similar change from a jocular tone to one of deep earnestness occurs at vi 335. *Atque utinam ritus veteres et publica saltem His intacta malis agerentur sacra.* There is an emphasis on *tota.* Would, says the poet, that he had devoted the *whole* of his time to such tom-foolery only. The names of some of these distinguished men whom this contemptible tyrant put to death, on frivolous pretexts, are given by Suetonius, Domit. 10. **153**: *cerdonibus*, low journeymen, riff-raff (according to Forc. a name given to slaves, cf. Pers. iv 51, Coningt.), used as a synonym for the vulgar, as *sutor*, iii 294. Martial joins the two, *sutor cerdo*, iii 59 and iii 16, *Das gladiatores sutorum regule cerdo.* The meaning is, that though Domitian might murder the nobles with impunity, he fell as soon as he began to be an object of apprehension to the vulgar. Some of these obscure people whom he put to death are mentioned by Suetonius; an actor, a gladiator, scribes, &c. This line has often been applied to Robespierre, and correctly, if we accept him as the representative of the system of government known as the Reign of Terror.

154: *Lamiarum.* Horace has two odes addressed to his friend Aelius Lamia, of this family, i 26 and iii 17. He is also mentioned in Od. i 36 7, and Epp. i 14 6. The name is again mentioned by Juvenal, vi 385. *Quaedam de numero Lamiarum, ac nominis alti,* as synonymous for "highly born." *Lamiae genus decorum,* Tac. Ann. vi 27. Here *Lamiarum* is evidently opposed to *cerdonibus.* In point of fact, however, the family did not rise into importance till the end of the Republic, its first distinguished member having been L. Aelius Lamia, the contemporary of Cicero. Domitian took away from the Aelius Lamia of his day his wife, married her, and afterwards put Lamia to death, Suet. Dom. 1 and 10. Only one Lamia is meant, viii 11 note.

INTRODUCTION TO SATIRE V.

THE poet addressing a parasite whom he calls Trebius, tells him that it would be far more respectable to go a-begging than to continue to toady his patron for the sake of an occasional dinner. And what sort of a dinner? This furnishes the author with the opportunity of giving a fancy picture of one of these repasts, which lasts to the end of the Satire. The poor hanger-on gets execrable wine, while the host revels in the choicest vintages: Virro (the host) drinks out of jewelled and embossed cups, Trebius from glass of the commonest kind, very often cracked into the bargain: the former has a costly young slave, from Asia, for his cup-bearer, the latter is served by an ugly blackamoor. So, one eats bread of the choicest wheat-flour, the other has stuff given him which he can't get his teeth through. For Virro, a noble lobster, and the finest olive-oil, and a mullet, and a lamprey, and choice poultry, and truffles: for Trebius, a common crab, oil that stinks of the lamp, an eel like a snake, a frost-bitten pike, and the like. And all the while, he does not venture to open his mouth, or address the great man, who, of course, never asks him to drink, or takes the slightest notice of him.

How different—asks the poet in a parenthesis—all this would be, if Trebius suddenly came into a large fortune. Then, what attention on the part of the host! "Help Trebius! serve Trebius! do, my dear friend, take some stuffing." And suppose Trebius were childless into the bargain, why he would become master of the house!

Resuming his account of the meal, Juvenal says the rich man and his rich friends eat mushrooms and the finest fruit: the humble dependants get doubtful-looking funguses and apples such as are given to monkeys. And quite right too,

concludes the poet; Virro does all this on purpose to annoy you. Where is there a more amusing farce to be seen than disappointed gluttony? "If you consent to stand this treatment, you deserve it; if you go on in this way, toadying Virro for the sake of dinners, at which you are purposely insulted, we shall see you before long on the stage, in the character of pantaloon, to be kicked and thumped and knocked about for the delight of the audience!"

There is nothing in this Satire to enable us to determine the date. If line 36 be an allusion to the fate of Senecio, condemned to death by Domitian for writing a panegyric on Helvidius Priscus (which is more than doubtful), the date would be after A.D. 95.

NOTES TO SATIRE V.

1: sqq. Juvenal, as we often have occasion to remark, was, even more than most satirists, given to exaggeration, but it is possible that the following account of a supper may not be so very highly coloured as we should at first sight be inclined to suppose. It would be difficult to conceive an example of worse breeding on the part of guests than that laughingly given by Horace in the eighth Satire of his second book. And the terms in which he invites his friend to bring some of his *umbrae* or "hangers-on" with him, Epp. i 5 28 29, show clearly the sort of attention they would be likely to receive at his hands. And see Plin. Epp. ii 6, which should be read in conjunction with this Satire; as also Lucian, "De Mercede Conductis," in which many passages of description quite as strong as anything of Juvenal's are to be found. Cf. also Luc. Chronosol. 17. Epp. Saturn. 22 38. *propositi* is here "course of life," as in ix 20, *flexisse videris propositum*, and Hor. Sat. ii 7 6. *Pars hominum vitiis gaudet constanter et urget Propositum. Vita sine proposito* (without a settled purpose) *vaga est*, Sen. Epp. 95. The aim, σκοπός, of your life. *ut* may depend on the whole of the first line, or on *eadem est mens*. **2**: *quadra*. The meaning is disputed; some take it for "table;" and Forc., under this sense, quotes Varro de Ling Lat. iv 25, *Mensam escariam cibillam appellabant, ea erat quadrata, ut etiam nunc in castris est.* But this only means that the tables had four sides, as is usually the case with ours. *Quadra* is generally used by Juvenal's contemporary Martial as a bit or portion of a cake (*placenta*), which, like cross-buns with us, appears to have been divided into four equal parts. (*impressis aequo discrimine quadris.* Moret. 47.) *Nec te liba juvant, nec sectae quadra placentae*, iii 77 3; *secta plurima quadra de placenta*, ix 91 18. In another place he has

quadra casei, xii 32 18. Seneca has the word in the same sense as I have given to it here, *Quis beneficium dixit quadram panis aut stipem aeris abjecti?* De Ben. iv 29. "A crumb of bread." The meaning in this place is "fragments from another man's table." **3**: *Sarmentus*, a parasite in Augustus's time, and a favourite of that Emperor, according to Plutarch; see note to last Satire 3 4. There is a parasite Sarmentus mentioned by Horace in Sat. i 5, but who seems to have been a different man. This one is, in all probability, the one mentioned by Quintilian, vi 3 58, who relates one of his jokes, a very poor one. **3, 4**: *iniquas mensas*, because of the unequal treatment the guests received. **4**: *Galba* was another buffoon in the time of Augustus and Maecenas. Martial, i 42, speaks of his wit. Quintilian, in vi 3, has given some specimens. **6**: *frugalius*, "more easily satisfied;" compare Sen. Epp. 60. *quantulum est enim quod naturae datur? parvo illa dimittitur. Non fames nobis ventris nostri magno constat, sed ambitio;* a sentiment which he constantly repeats, *Parvo fames constat . . . natura minimum petit . . . Panem et aquam natura desiderat*, &c. Ulysses, in Homer, looks on the matter from a different point of view, Οὐ γάρ τι στυγερῇ ἐπὶ γαστέρι κύντερον ἄλλο Ἔπλετο. **7**: *puta* is used exactly as at ii 153, where see note. **8**: *crepido* is either a raised footpath, or, as Heinrich takes it, the steps of a house or public building. *pons* occurred at iv 116, where see note. **9, 10**: *tantine . . . fames* is, according to Heinrich, "a pitiable gloss." If the passages pronounced by Heinrich, Ribbeck, and other critics, to be spurious were omitted from the text, the task of the translator and commentator would be greatly facilitated, as there would be scarcely anything left to translate or comment upon. "Is the *insolence* of a dinner worth so much?" Macl. Is it worth while to accept a dinner only to be insulted?—the "insult" (where one would expect "compliment") of such a dinner. Is such an outrageous meal worth the price you are called upon to pay for it? *si sumptibus parcas, quibus aliquanto rectius tua continentia quam aliena contumelia consulas,* Plin. Epp. ii 6, where *contumelia* has the same sense, and refers to the same practice, as *injuria*, here. *Invidia excelsos, inopes injuria vexat*, Mart. Supposit. 10. The genitive after *injuria* (as in

the case of other words signifying action or passion), generally refers to the cause of the injury, &c., and is not what is called the objective genitive. Thus *Helvetiorum injuriae*, Caes., means "the misdoings *of* the Helvetii." *aliorum injuriae*, "the injuries done *by* others." But this is not always so, *ex. gr.*, in Plin. Epp. iii 4, *injuriae hospitum* means, "the wrongs done *to* friends." In Ov. Met. iii 267, *thalami injuria nostri* is "the affront offered *to* my chamber." It is indeed only from the context that the sense can sometimes be gathered. The hackneyed *spretae injuria formae* of Virg. might be taken either way: but it is better to take it "the affront put on me *by* the slight offered to my beauty." **10**: *cum possit.* There are a variety of readings here, *possis cum*, *cum Pol sit*, &c. The reading in the text appears to be the correct one. *Fames* is the subject to *possit*, and Famine may very well be said to shiver, &c., just as *pietas* is said *algere* at i 74. *silva mendicat*, iii 16. *acta cupiunt*, ii 136. *pelves contentae sunt*, iii 277, &c., cf. vi 657 note. *lectica petit*, i 121. *sportula laudat*, xiii 32. *scrutante macello*, v 89. *potestas credit*, iv 71.

12: *Primo loco*, no "secondly" following, cf. Plin. Epp. i 23. *fige.* ix 94, "Don't forget this. Be careful to remember at starting." Is there an emphasis on *jussus?* **13**: *solidam*, "in a lump." *officiorum*, ii 132 note. **14**: *imputat*, "puts down to your credit." Fr. "met en ligne de compte;" compare, Mart. xii 48, *Non Albana mihi sit commissatio tanti Nec Capitolinae pontificumque dapes Imputet ipse Deus nectar mihi fiet acetum*, where the sentiment somewhat resembles that of this passage. *imputare* does not appear to have been used in this sense in the Augustan age, but Juvenal and his contemporaries, Pliny, Tacitus, Seneca, Martial, &c., constantly use it so. *rex.* i 136, note. **16**: *adhibere. Nec multos adhibet.* ii 135. **17**: *Tertia . . . lecto*, "to fill up a spare place," as we say. The host gives him the third or lowest cushion on a couch which he has not yet filled up, *vacuo*, i 136. On the general disposition of places at a Roman *coena*, cf. Hor. Sat. 8 23, sqq. **19**: *Trebius* is the parasite. **20**: *ligulas dimittere.* There is some uncertainty as to the meaning of this. I now think that the sense is "to leave the lappets of the shoe unfastened," cf. Rich. Dict. Ant. ad voc. The lap-

pet was shaped like a tongue. **22, 23**: *sideribus dubiis* expressed the early dawn. The other period mentioned would be still earlier. Bootes, the herdsman, ἀρκτοφύλαξ, "the bear-ward," is the constellation near the Great Bear, called Charles' Wain, or the Waggon. *Arctophylax vulgo qui dicitur esse Bootes, Quod quasi temone adjunctam prae se quatit Arctum*, in Cic. N. D. ii 42. *placidi numquid te pigra Bootae plaustra vehunt?* Mart. viii 21 3. Catullus calls him *tardus*, 66 67; and Propertius *serus*, iii 35.

24: *recens lana tonsa sucida appellata est*, Varro, R. R. ii 11 6, and he adds that the derivation is from *sudor*. This wool, steeped in oil, wine, or vinegar, was used in medical applications, Plin. H. N. xxix 2. The poet says this wine was so bad that even wool would have rejected it. **25**: The bad wine will quickly get into the people's heads, and instead of peaceful guests, you will see them as frantic as the priests of Cybele. **26**: We must suppose this fight to go on at the further end of the dining-room, and not in the immediate vicinity of the host and his more distinguished guests, the *reliqui Virrones*, 149, cf. 17, note. For *jurgia proludunt*, compare xv 51 52. *jurgia prima sonare Incipiunt. non ultra jurgium processum est*, Tac. Ann. ii. 79.

30, 31: *Ipse capillato*, etc. The host himself drinks wine bottled under some consul with long hair. This is, of course, a metaphorical expression, signifying very old, choice wine, for some centuries had elapsed since the consuls wore beards and long hair; cf. iv. 103. *barbato regi. sub rege Numa condita vina bibis*. Mart. iii 62 2, and xiii 111; and in the same way, he addresses an old woman, *Consule te Bruto quid juras Lesbia natam? Mentiris, nata es Lesbia rege Numa*, x 39. *Orbus es et locuples et Bruto consule natus*, xi 44. *diffundere* is the word for transferring the wines from the *dolium*, or large vessel, into the *amphora*, or *lagena*, in which the choicer ones were kept for use. These were of earthenware, and, in later times, of glass, so that the process would answer nearly to our "bottling." *Vina bibes iterum Tauro diffusa*, Hor. Epp. i 5 4. *defundere*, on the other hand, is the word for drawing off for the table, and corresponds to our "uncorking." The date of the vintage was marked on the outside of the am-

phora by the names of the consuls then in office. See Dict. G. and R. Ant. "Vinum." Horace speaks of *cadum Marsi memorem duelli*, Od. iii 14 18, wine of the Social War period, which would then have been seventy, and, at the date of this Satire, something like a hundred and eighty years old. The practice of a host setting down inferior wine to his guest, while reserving a choicer vintage for himself, would not, of course, be tolerated in our day, but seems to have been common in that of Juvenal. Pliny the younger describes a dinner where the host *vinum etiam parvulis lagunculis in tria genera descripserat, non ut potestas eligendi, sed ne jus esset recusandi. Et aliud sibi et nobis, aliud minoribus amicis (nam gradatim amicos habet) aliud suis nostrisque libertis*, Epp. ii 6; and the elder Pliny praises Cato as *dissimilis istis qui etiam conviris alia quam sibimet ipsis ministrant, aut, procedente coena subjiciunt.* H. N. xiv 13. Cf. Martial, *Nos bibimus vitro, tu myrrha Pontice, quare? Prodat perspicuus ne dua vina calix*, iv 86, and x 49, and Lucian de Merced. Cond. 26. τῶν ἄλλων ἥδιστον τε καὶ παλαίστατον οἶνον πινόντων, μόνος σὺ πονηρόν τινα καὶ παχὺν πίνεις. According to Stocker, a somewhat analogous custom prevailed till lately among the clergy. "No longer back than the latter part of the last century, the claret, at an episcopal visitation, did not go down to the curates' end of the table, but was pushed across from the lowest rector on the one side to the opposite incumbent." **32**: *Cardiacus morbus* was an affection of the stomach, for which, Pliny says, the only remedy was wine. *Bibere et sudare vita cardiaci est*, Sen. Epp. 15. "He would not even send a small glass of it to a friend, to save his life;" cf. Hor. Sat. ii 3 161. **34**: The Setine, a Campanian wine, which, in the days of Juvenal, had come to be the favourite vintage, the fashion having probably been set by Augustus, Plin. H. N. xiv 6. Elsewhere he praises it highly, as promoting digestion. Martial repeatedly praises Setine, vi 86, x 13, and 36, &c. Compare Juv. x 27. Sezza, the modern place, makes wine which is, I believe, deemed very inferior. *titulum*, alluded to in note 30–31, is the French "étiquette." Petronius, 34, describes one of these *tituli* as being written on parchment, and hung round the neck of the bottle; and this is probably correct. He gives the "titulus,"

Falernum Opimianum annorum centum, but this is burlesque. **35**: *fuligine* is smoke, not "mould," as Madan, Evans, and others, translate. In order to produce an artificial mellowness, "it was customary to erect *apothecae* (wine-bins) in such a manner as to be exposed to the hot air and smoke of the bath-furnaces, Colum. i 6; and hence the name *fumaria* applied to such apartments, and the phrases *fumosum, fumum bibere, fuligine testae*, in reference to the wine, Tibull. ii 1 27, Hor. Od. iii 8 11, Juv. v 35," Dict. G. and R. Ant. See particularly Plin. H. N. xxiii 1, and cf. Martial, *Cocta fumis musta Massilianis*, iii 82 23; *Improba Massiliae quid fumaria cogunt*, x 36; *fumosae lagenae*, xii 83; *fumea vina*, xiii 123. *cadum sordentem fumo*, Stat. Silv. iv 8 39, &c. **36**: P. Thrasea Paetus, put to death by Nero, and his son-in-law, Helvidius Priscus, by Vespasian. Thrasea is coupled with Cato by Martial, i 9. **38**: *Heliadum*, formed from the tears of the Heliades for their brother Phaeton, which were fabled to have been turned into amber. Martial frequently alludes to this, iv 32 and 59, vi 15, ix 14. *inequales beryllo* as *stellatus iaspide*, Virg. Aen. iv 261. "rough with *the* beryl." *ung. acut.* Mart. viii 33. **42**: These words are either spoken ironically by the poet, "Excuse the precaution: there is a splendid jasper in the cup, you see," or they are the words of the impertinent slave who guards the cup. **44-46**: This surely cannot mean, as Macleane understands, that "the stones are the identical jewels Aeneas had on." The words *ut multi* would alone disprove this. Moreover, though the Romans of this period were fond of relics (we had Otho's mirror in Sat. ii; we shall have a ring of Berenice's in Sat. vi, and vessels out of which Philip of Macedon had drunk in Sat. xii; at a later time Zenobia, according to Trebellius Pollio, used Cleopatra's cups, &c.), jewels that had belonged to Aeneas would be too ridiculous. To be sure we have relics of about the same age in Petron. 52 (if the MSS. are right); and so again Hor. Sat. ii 3 20, cf. Mart. viii 6, vii 19: but in all these cases the things are only named to be ridiculed, and the point of the Satire is quite different here. The sense is, "For Virro, like many others, transfers from his fingers to his drinking-cups jewels (*i.e.*, jaspers), which Aeneas used to wear in the hilt of his

sword" (comp. Mart. xiv 109). The contrast is between *pocula* and *vaginae fronte.* "The transfer of jewels from arms to cups is indicative of a similar transfer of affections." The reference is to Virgil, whom Juvenal often has in his eye. Aen. iv 261, quoted above. Aeneas was preferred by Dido to her other suitors, Iarbas included, Aen. iv 36. *zelotypus,* "jealous," was not used by the Augustan writers, but appears to have become naturalised by Juvenal's time, as it is frequently used by him, and by his contemporaries Quintilian, Petronius, and Martial. Many of these words were doubtless originally written in Greek letters, and were gradually Latinised. *juvenis* does not always mean "a youth" in our sense of the word, but I think it does here, the tone being comic, "young Aeneas." **46** : Vatinius of Beneventum, originally a cobbler, but afterwards a favourite of Nero, gave his name to a drinking-cup, for what reason it is now impossible to say, perhaps from the length of his nose, which made it look like a spout. It is mentioned by Martial xiv 96, *Vilia sutoris calicem monumenta Vatini Accipe sed nasus longior ille fuit.* From which, and the present passage, it would appear that it had one or more nozzles or spouts. For an account of this Vatinius, see Tac. Ann. xv 34. **48** : *poscentem sulfura vitro,* "that wanted sulphur to mend it," according to the scholiast. But the better meaning is that it was time for it to be exchanged, as broken-glass, for sulphur-matches. This is evident from Martial, *Transtiberinus ambulator Qui pallentia sulfurata fractis Permutat vitreis,* i 42. *Circulatrix quae sulfurato nolit empta ramento Vatiniorum proxeneta fractorum,* x 3, where this identical kind of common drinking-vessel is described as being so exchanged. *Permutant vitreis gregale sulfur,* Stat. Silv. i 6 74. Heinrich is of the opinion of the scholiast, and quotes Plin. Epp. viii 20, where sulphur is spoken of as *vis qua fracta solidantur.* He argues that *rupta* is the word used here, not *fracta, i.e.,* "*cracked* glass that would be mended, not *broken* glass that would be sold." But a comparison of the passages which he himself cites from Pliny and from Martial will show that there is nothing in this point. The former speaks of things *fracta* being mended : the latter of their being sold. No doubt, as with us, valuable glass objects would be mended (if the Romans

knew of any process to effect this), and cheap glass, like that which Juvenal mentions here, would be disposed of. It should be remarked that Pliny, in the passage quoted, does not speak of glass as being one among the objects which sulphur was used to mend. And the elder Pliny in a long article on sulphur, in which he expressly mentions sulphur-matches, and describes a great many purposes to which the article in question is put, never alludes to this one, H. N. xxxv 15.

50: Nero is said to have invented (or rather introduced among the Romans) the practice of cooling water by means of snow. This was done by putting the water into a glass receptacle and surrounding it with the snow, much after the fashion in which ice is used by us, for a similar purpose, Plin. H. N. xxxi 3. The water was first boiled down (*decocta* or *cocta*), that a greater degree of coldness might subsequently be attained, though whether this result would be accomplished has been disputed by modern experimentalists. *item calefactam magis refrigerari*, Plin. l. c. The water, thus cooled, was used for mixing with wine; *vino nivem diluit*, Senec. Epp. 78, and de Ira, ii 25, in winter as well as summer, *non aestate tantum, sed et media hieme nivem bibunt*, Sen. Nat. Quaest. iv 13, from which it appears also that they had regular "ice-houses," as we term them. Snow is still used for cooling wine, &c., in Southern Italy, from the fact of its being more easily obtainable than ice. But the Romans were sometimes not contented with snow, but wanted ice; *nec nive contenti sunt, sed glaciem, velut certior illi ex solido rigor sit exquirunt*, Seneca, in the chapter last cited. Martial has constant allusions to this practice of cooling wines, ii 85, v 64, vi 86, &c.—The use of snow, &c., had been, of course, known long before Nero's time, Xen. Mem. ii 1 30. Athen. Deipn. iii 97, mentions ice-houses made by Alexander, resembling ours—deep trenches, with cut branches at the top to keep off the sun. **51**: The wine was not circulated round the table, as with us: this appears from Mart. iv 86, and other passages. **52, 53**: *Gaetulus cursor*, "a black running-footman;" but these fellows waited at table too, it seems. *Cursorem sexta tibi Rufe remisimus hora Carmina quem madidum nostra tulisse reor*, Mart. iii 100, where he would seem to be equivalent to a kind of *commissionaire*,

Libys eques, Mart. x 13. **54**: It was deemed unlucky to meet anything black at night. *ut illum videt canem nigrum villosum sane, quem non velis tibi in tenebris occurrere*, Senec. Lud. de morte Cl. Caes. **55**: The Latin Way, as a place of burial, has been mentioned at i 171. **56**: The cup-bearers of the wealthy Romans were chosen for their good looks, as Ganymede by Jupiter, *Puer quis ex aula capillis Ad cyathum statuetur unctis?* Hor. Od. i 29 7 8, and so noble lads among the Greeks, Hom. Odyss. i 149, &c. *flos*, "the flower" as we say. *flos* and *flosculus* are very common in this sense. *O qui flosculus es Juventiorum*, Catull. 24 1; and alone, as in Ter. Eun. ii 3. *Anni? Anni? Sedecim. Flos ipse.* **58**: *Frivola*, "goods and chattels," as at iii 198. There is probably an emphasis on *frivola*. "All the possessions—mere 'chattels' as they were—of the Roman kings:" where some word signifying "fortunes" might have been expected. This would be more emphasised in recitation. **60**: *nescire* must often be translated by "to be unable." *mentiri nescio*, iii 41. *nesciat irasci*, x 360, xiii 240, xiv 231. **62**: *ille* must be the black Ganymede, to whom alone the humble guest can look for drink. *nescit . . . supercilio* is thrown in parenthetically. **63**: *calidae gelidaeque minister*. Both hot and cold water were set down at the banquets of the Romans. *Frigida non desit non deerit calda petenti*, Mart. xiv 105. *Jam defecisset portantes calda ministros Si non potares Sextiliane merum*, i 12. **66**: This line and 51 are pronounced against by Heinrich and Ribbeck, for no other reason than that they do not like them. Seneca speaks of *ostiarii difficultatem, nomenclatoris superbiam, cubicularii supercilium*. As to the extraordinary number of slaves kept by wealthy men under the Empire, cf. Becker's "Gallus," Exc. iii sc. 1. Still greater numbers than those mentioned there are, however, alluded to by some writers. Thus Athenaeus speaks of many Romans owning ten thousand, twenty thousand, and even more, slaves a-piece, and that not for profit, but for show—a statement hardly credible, Deipn. vi 104. *major domus* is used by Pers. as *maxima domus* here, for "a great house," iii 92.

67: sqq. We now come to the food, and, as in the case of the wine, that served to the poorer guests is of an inferior

quality. *Sibi* (to himself, the host) *optima quaedam, ceteris vilia et minuta ponebat*, Plin. Epp. ii 6. According to Suetonius, Julius Caesar threw a baker into prison who had served him with better bread than his guests. **68**: *vix fractum*, "a piece of bread which could scarcely be broken off the loaf"—so hard it was. **69**: Horace, Epp. ii 1 123, speaks of *pane secundo*, bread of an inferior quality, which the scholiast interprets as *non siligineo*, *i.e.*, not made of the finer sort of grain; cf. Mart. ix 3. The wealthy Romans had their bread baked at home. **71**: *dextram cohibere momento*, "Hands off!" **72**: *salva tibi sit constantiae fama.* Plin. Epp. ix 1. **73**: *ponere* for *deponere*, as often; "to lay down," *i.e.*, the piece of bread you have taken. Not "to lay *it* (*i.e.*, the bread-basket) down," as commonly translated. **74**: *vis tu?* "will you?" exactly in our sense; "will you keep quiet?" &c., a common form of expression. *Visne tu te, Servi, cohibere et meminisse hominem te esse natum?* Cic. Epist. iv 5. Other readings are *vix tu*, with no sense, and *vin' tu*, with no authority and no necessity. *consuetis canistris*, the man was in the habit of dining there every two months or so, 15 16, and knew the basket he was expected to take his bread from. **75**: *impleri*, "fill your belly," ironically.

76: sqq. Mart. frequently complains of having to visit his patron at an unseasonable hour. *Si quid nostra tuis adicit vexatio rebus, Mane, vel e media nocte, togatus ero, Stridentesque feram flatus Aquilonis iniqui Et patiar nimbos, excipiamque nives*, x 82, and again *At mihi quem cogis medios abrumpere somnos Et matutinum ferre patique lutum, Quid petitur rupta cum pes vagus exit aluta Et subitus crassae decidit imber aquae?* xii 26, compare i 109. *Exitus hic operis vani togulaeque madentis Vix tanti Paulum mane videre fuit*, v 22. **78**: *Esquilias.* Martial, in another passage, similar to those quoted above, complains that he had to go all the way to the Esquiline Hill to salute his patron, v 22. The Esquiline under the Empire had come to be a fashionable place of residence, Juv. iii 71, Macaenas having been the first to improve it, Hor. Sat. i 8 14. Propertius calls it *aquosas Esquilias*, iv 8 1, from its exposed situation. **79**: *paenula*, "a thick cloak used by the Romans in travelling, as a protection against the cold and rain, instead

of the toga," Dict. G. and R. Ant. It was probably worn over the toga in such a case as this, and taken off before presenting one's self to a patron, like our cloaks and great-coats. **80**: So Horace speaks of *angustoque vagos pisces urgere catino*, Sat. ii 4 77. *distendere lancem* is, of course, poetical. It seems to stretch the dish, from its great size, Juv. vi 426. **81**: *squilla* is probably here a lobster, or large crayfish: more commonly, it signifies a prawn or shrimp as in Hor. Sat. ii 8 42. Pliny speaks of *squillae*, as not being considered delicacies, *Mare non sane preciosis piscibus abundat; soleas tamen et squillas optimas suggerit*, Epp. ii 17. **81, 82**: *quibus asparagis*. The elder Pliny says that asparagus were brought to such a state of cultivation, that their heads weighed three pounds each, H. N. xix 4. **84**: *dimidio constrictus cammarus ovo*, a "common crab, hemmed in (*i.e.*, garnished) with half an egg (sliced up)." The Romans used to garnish some of their dishes in this way, as we do salads, *Divisis cybium latebit ovis*, Mart. v 78. *Secta coronabunt rutatos ova lacertos*, x 48, xi 52. Some give to *constrictus* the sense of "shrunk up," *i.e.*, from having been so long out of the sea; but the above is better. *cammarus* was some sort of crab, or crayfish, of small value, and is especially mentioned as a poor man's dish by Martial, *Immodici tibi flava tegunt chrysendeta mulli Concolor in nostra cammare lance rubes*, ii 43. **85**: *feralis coena* must allude to the *novemdialia*, or *feriae novemdiales*, a sacrifice and funeral repast, on the ninth day after the burial. It consisted of simple things, such as eggs, bread, salt, &c., and was placed on the grave; see for a fuller account, Becker's "Gallus," Excursus to scene xii, who distinguishes it from the *silicernium*, or meal taken near the grave, and the *coena funeris*, which took place in the house of the deceased. **86**: The Romans used oil, as we use melted butter; and such is still, I believe, the practice in Italy. That of Venafrum in Campania was celebrated, Plin. H. N. xv 2. The oil of Italy is now esteemed inferior to that of France. **88**: sqq. "You get an inferior kind of oil from Africa." Plin., H. N. xv 2, expressly mentions Africa as not favourable to the production of the olive. Probably it was too hot. *Micipsarum*. Only one person of this name is known (cf. viii 11 note). King of Numidia, and

eldest son of Masinissa, though Diodorus says he had a son of the same name. *Bocchar* is mentioned by Livy as a King of the Mauri, xxix 30. The meaning is that this Numidian or African oil which the poor guest gets, smells so bad that a Roman would not like to go into the same bath with a native who anointed himself with it; and that even serpents would fly from it. Line 91 is omitted in some MSS.

93: *Tauromenitanae rupes*, the rocks of Taormina, on the eastern coast of Sicily. **94**: *defecit nostrum mare, dum gula saevit*, &c. There is something very like this in Petron. 119. *Ingeniosa gula est . . . jam Phasidos unda orbata est avibus.* There are no more pheasants left. *vos quorum profunda et insatiabilis gula. hinc maria scrutatur, hinc terras*, says Seneca, Epp. 89. **95**: *macello*. Martial has *conturbator macellus*, x 96, the market-place which brings people to bankruptcy. Statius calls fishermen *scrutatores profundi.* Silv. iii 1 84. **96**: The *Tyrrhenum mare* is the part of the Mediterranean adjoining the west coast of Italy. **97**: *provincia*, cf. iv 26. **98**: *Laenas* is any fortune-hunter. Compare vi 40. *Aurelia* is a rich lady who will sell the fish again, from so many dainties of the kind being sent to her that she has no other way of disposing of them, or from avarice, iii 187. *plena domus libis venalibus*, note. There is an Aurelia mentioned by Pliny, Epp. ii 20. **100**: *si quando continet imber.* Virg. Georg. i 259. **101**: *in carcere*, "in the cave of the winds." **104**: *Tiberinus;* probably the *Tiberinus lupus* or pike is meant, Hor. Sat. ii 2 31. Lucil. fragm. iv 5, *pontes Tiberinu' duo inter-captu'. et ipse.* The force of this does not seem to have been understood. I take the meaning to be "you will be served with a coarse river-pike, spotted with frost-bites, or even with a specimen drawn from the mud, and fattened in the sewers (the very born-slave of the banks, &c.)" The fish, when in good condition, seems to have been esteemed a delicacy. Macrob. Sat. iii 16 17. *aut* is not required for *et*, with this sense. Mr. Simcox, who is always trying to extract a far-fetched meaning from his author, gives to *et ipse* the sense of "a home-born slave *like you!*" It is needless to say there is nothing in this. **105**: Juvenal here represents the Cloaca Maxima as penetrating under the Suburra, one of the most

populous parts of the town, iii 5; and this fact was verified by excavations made in 1743, Dict. G. and R. Geog. "Roma."

109: *Seneca*, the celebrated philosopher, the preceptor of Nero. Juvenal seems to have had a great regard for him, viii 212. *Piso* was put to death with him for conspiring against Nero. Martial couples the two, *Pisones Senecasque Memmiosque Et Crispos mihi redde*, xii 36. *Cotta* may be Aurelius Cotta, who lived in Nero's time, and who is praised again at vii 95. Perhaps Juvenal, in his youth, may have experienced the kindness of some of these men, cf. Sen. de Vit. Beat. 24. **110**: *olim*, these patrons, though of recent date, followed the good old tradition. **112**: *civiliter*, literally, "as becomes a citizen." Hence "with courtesy, in a genial way." *juveni civile ingenium, mira comitas*, Tac. Ann. i 33 (of Germanicus). He was genial. *liberaliter* is used in much the same sense. **112, 113**: *esto . . . esto*, compare, for the repetition, ii 135 136, vi 166 167 279 280.

114: *Anseris jecur*. A great delicacy with the Romans, as "*foie gras*" with us. *Aspice quam tumeat magno jecur ansere majus*, Mart. xiii 58. *satur anseris extis*, Pers. vi 71, Hor. Sat. ii 8 88. In Mart. iii 82, the mention of it is followed, as here, by that of a boar. Compare Ov. Fast. i 453, where it is mentioned as being offered up to Io. *ipsum*, 30 107, is throughout "the host." So in Horace, *Nomentanus erat super ipsum, Porcius infra*, Sat. ii 8 23. **115**: *altilis*, from *alo*, "anything fattened." It is often used of fowls, and probably means here a fat capon. It is spoken of by Horace as a delicacy, *Nec somnum plebis laudo, satur altilium*, Epp. i 7 35. *fumat* goes with *jecur* and *altilis*, as well as *aper*. We have two examples of the common use of the singular, in this way, close at hand, 109 and 124. The story of Meleager and the Calydonian boar-hunt is told by Homer, Il. ix, and Ovid, Metam. viii. Meleager seems to have been a very common subject of representation by artists, and every one would understand the poet's allusion. So also Hercules, holding Antaeus from the ground, iii 88, and below v 125. **116**: *tubera*, "truffles," though highly prized by the Romans, seem to have been reckoned inferior to mushrooms, *Tubera boletis poma secunda sumus*, Mart. xiii 50. Pliny, H. N. xix 3, says that frequent

thunder-storms produce truffles, and that they are best in spring-time; which explains this passage. *facient coenas majores*, "increase the bills of fare"—give the epicures more to eat. **118, 119**: *Allidius* (any epicure) says that Libya, the great granary of Rome, may keep her corn to herself, and unyoke her oxen, provided she sends truffles. The African truffles were the most esteemed, Plin. H. N. xix 3.

120: *structor*, properly, the person who arranged the dishes on the table (from *struo*), here a carver, as in xi 136, and Mart. x 48 15. *Et quae non egeant ferro structoris ofellae.* The carvers at great houses were accustomed, it seems, to use gesticulations, and the practice is ridiculed by Petronius, 36, Sen. Epp. 47. *magistri* is his teacher, or professor, for there was a regular school of the art, xi 137, where, very likely, rich men sent their slaves to be instructed, as now-a-days cooks are sent to take lessons of great French *chefs*. **123, 124**: *nec minimo . . . secetur.* This may mean (1) it makes a great difference with what sort of gesticulation hares and fowls are cut up, or (2) there is a great difference between the sort of gesticulation proper to cutting up hares and fowls respectively. The great *art* required in a carver is often alluded to by Seneca, Epp. 47. de Brev. Vit. 12, de Vit. Beat. 17. **125**: The story of Cacus, who stole Hercules' cows, and was killed by him, is told by Virgil, Aen. viii 192, sqq. **127**: *tamquam*, etc., "As if you were a Roman citizen, and entitled to three names!" Ironical. *propinare* is, properly, to taste of the cup one's self, and then hand it round to the others. *Quod nulli calicem tuum propinas Humane facis Herme, non superbe*, Mart. ii 15, and cf. xii 74; iii 82 25, and 31, &c. **129**: *usque adeo;* cf. iii 84, vi 182, "so utterly." **131**: The *laena*, or woollen cloak, was an upper garment, which seems to have been worn sometimes at the dinner-table, Pers. i 32 (but this was one of a finer sort), but most commonly, no doubt, was worn over the toga in going and coming, in cold weather or at night, Juv. iii 283. Martial, viii 59 10, speaks of a thievish guest going off with two, which looks as if they were laid aside or hung up, in-doors, like our great-coats. *pertusa laena* might be a descriptive ablative, "men with a torn cloak:" but the order is against this.

132: sqq. Compare Mart. i 104, *Si dederint Superi decies mihi millia centum . . . Qualiter O vivam quam large, quamque beate. quadringenta*, a knight's fee, i 106. **133**: Heinrich, following some of the older commentators, takes *homuncio* as a nominative, "some god-like little man," as opposed to *Deus*, and sees an allusion to Ter. Eun. iii 5 42. *At quem Deum? . . . ego homuncio hoc non fecerim?* Others, as Ruperti, take it as a vocative. If that be so, there is, perhaps, an allusion to Eur. Cy. 316. ὁ πλοῦτος, ἀνθρωπίσκε, τοῖς σοφοῖς θεός. *homuncio*, "my little man," used playfully, is not at all uncommon, *ex. gr.*, *Quin tu quicumque es, homuncio lucernam, ait, actutum mihi expedis?* Appul. Met. ix 181. This, like many other passages in Juvenal, is not a case for dogmatising, as Macleane does. "It is the nominative," he says. However, an editor is expected to arrive at a conclusion, and cannot abandon a passage with the old formula, "*Judicet lector.*" I have given the former rendering, as being the one which certainly gives more life to the passage. The Gods and the Fates are coupled together in this way, *medicus Divis fatisque potentior*, Auson Epigr. 73. *Deus et melior natura.* Ov. Met. i 21. **135**: *vis . . . ilibus.* Do let me give you a bit of the stuffing, as we should say; and this is pretty nearly the meaning which Celsus gives to the word. *Pulpamenta quae inter coxam et ventrem posita sunt*, Achaintre ad loc. **137**: *vos estis fratres.* So Martial says of a man fond of jewels, *Hos amplectitur, hos deosculatur, Hos vocat fratres*, viii 81 6. "Coins and bank-notes, *you* are really his brothers, not the man who owns them," as we should say. *Dominus* may be either the "Lord of your Lord," or "a Lord yourself." I prefer the former. **138, 139**: Another allusion to Virgil, *Si quis mihi parvulus aula Luderet Aeneas*, Aen. iv 328. **140**: Horace makes Tiresias say to Ulysses, *fama civem causaque priorem Sperne, domi si natus erit fecundare conjux*, Sat. ii. 5 31; and Pliny, speaking of his friend Asinius Rufus, says, *Functus est optimi civis officio, quod fecunditate uxoris large frui voluit, eo seculo quo plerisque etiam singulos filios orbitatis praemia graves faciunt*, Epp. iv 15. It is needless to say that, as this line involves a maxim, it has been held to be a monkish gloss. It is supposed to have slipped in from the margin: a kind

of note, in verse, by the transcriber. Perhaps this is a convenient place for observing that there is no writer of antiquity with regard to whom commentators should be more careful not to exclude these *sententiae* as glosses. They are entirely in the poet's manner: and the proof of this is that they constantly occur, either as parts of a line, or covering more than one line, so that they cannot be torn from the context. Compare *rara in tenui facundia panno,* vii 145. *spoliatis arma supersunt,* viii 124, viii 73 74, ix 18 19, xiii 75 76, x 96 97, x. 7 8, &c. The meaning is that if the rich man's wife is barren, she will make his friends very pleasant to him, for they will hope to get a legacy by their attentions, *or,* that the sterility of a wife will make *him* a pleasant friend. The epithet *carus* is in favour of the latter rendering, *Carus erit Verri,* &c., iii 53. *Migale.* There are various readings of the name, but whichever of them we adopt, I think the man's wife is meant. She is introduced as *Procula* in iii 203. The meaning I take to be, "But under present circumstances, your wife may have as many children as she likes. Virro won't be distressed at the fact, as he knows he has nothing to expect from you, and will be rather amused with them than otherwise." This Macleane says is "certainly wrong." He takes the meaning to be :—"Now that you are rich—as we have supposed—even if you have children, he will fondle the babies and see what he can do that way. The man being rich is still worth looking after." In that case we should read *tunc* in preference to *nunc,* and the words *parasitus infans* seem to me to be fatal to this rendering. If this be merely a pursuing of the idea that the man has become worth a knight's fee, 132, and is himself a great man, he and his children would surely cease to be "parasites," and would come to table on terms of equality with the host. Mr. Prior makes *ipse* refer to *patris.* "The father will be delighted whenever his own *parasite* child comes to his own table, and will order him to receive a little bib-money," &c. Mr. Prior says "it is strange that this should have been overlooked!" **143**: *viridem thoraca.* According to Lipsius *Viridis erat color vestium puerilis et femineus,* Elect. Lib. 1 c, 13. Compare Statius, Silv. ii 1 133, of

the boy Glaucias, *nunc herbas imitante sinu.* **144**: *minimas nuces*, probably filberts. They and other kinds of nuts served as playthings, as well as edibles, for children, with the Romans, as with us. (*Augustus,*) *animi laxandi causa . . . nucibus ludebat cum pueris minutis, quos facie et garrulitate undique amabiles conquirebat*, Sueton. Aug. 83. *Neu nuces pueris neget.* Catull. 61 128, Pers. i 10, Phaedr. iii 14, &c. **145**: *parasitus infans* has the same comic turn as *rusticus infans*, iii 176. *parasitaster parvulus*, Ter. Ad. v 2 4. **146**: sqq. Martial's epigram iii 60 offers so strong a resemblance to parts of this Satire, that I quote it entire, *Cum vocor ad coenam, non jam venalis ut ante, Cur mihi non eadem quae tibi coena datur? Ostrea tu sumis stagno saturata Lucrino, Sugitur inciso mytilus ore mihi. Sunt tibi boleti, fungos ego sumo suillos, Res tibi cum rhombo est, at mihi cum sparulo. Cereus immodicis turtur te clunibus implet Ponitur in cavea mortua pica mihi. Cur sine te coeno, cum tecum Pontice coenem? Sportula quod non est, prosit; edamus idem*, and cf. Mart. iii 82 18, sqq. **147**: *sed qualem*, "aye, and such a one as," a not uncommon use of *sed*. *vindictam tuae parenti, sed plenam tribue*, App. Met. iv 85. *Omnium eumdem exitum esse, sed et idem domicilium*, Petron. 111.

147, 148: This seems to be an allusion to Mart. i 21, *Boletum, qualem Claudius edit, edas. Boletus*, which we translate for convenience "mushroom," was, as is well known, a great favourite with the Romans, Mart. iii 45, xiii 50, &c. (see note to 116 of this Satire). Here the meaning is that the mushrooms served to Virro were very fine ones, such as Claudius ate, before that last one which was fatal to him. He was very fond of such things, as Suetonius tells us, *avidissimus talium*, and his wife Agrippina poisoned him by means of one, see vi 620. **149**: *reliquis Virronibus*, the other grandees. **150**: *quorum . . . odore*, "so fine, that their odour alone is a feast;"—and the only share of them that Trebius was likely to get. Compare with this line (and 162 below) Mart. i 93 9. *Pasceris et nigrae solo nidore culinae.* **151**: The gardens of Alcinous, King of Phaeacia, were described by Homer as filled with perpetual fruits. **152**: *Sororibus Afris*, the Hesperides. Martial has *Aut Corcyraei sunt haec de frondibus horti Aut haec Massyli poma draconis erant*, alluding to the dragon

of the Hesperides, xiii 37. **153**: This must mean a monkey, and so one of the old scholiasts takes it. The *agger* is probably the rampart of Servius Tullius, cf. viii 43, xvi 26; but it may mean any public way, cf. Quint. xii 10. A monkey dressed up in regimentals and sitting on a goat, munching an apple in the intervals of throwing a dart, &c., for the amusement of the soldiers and idlers, is a spectacle quite familiar to us, as it was to the Romans. The other interpretation, that not a monkey but a recruit is meant, and that he learns his exercise from a drill-sergeant, called *capella* contemptuously, is not worth much, to my mind. As for the objection of Mr. Mayor and Mr. Simcox (who adopt the latter version) that "*ab equo jaculari* is not found in Latin," and that it should be *ex capella*, and not *a capella*, to support the sense I have given, compare Propert. iii 11 13; *Ausa ferox ab equo quondam oppugnare sagittis Maeotis Danaum Penthesilea rates.* and Ovid, *Telaque ab averso quae jacit hostis equo*, A. A. i 210. So ἀφ' ἵππων in Greek.

157: *Hoc agit ut doleas.* compare Mart. iv 68. *Ut coenem invitor, Sexte, an ut invideam?* **163**: sqq. The meaning is "Could such a fellow be stood a second time by any one who is at least free-born?" The *Bulla*, of Etruscan origin, a circular boss or ornament worn round their necks, only by free-born children, *ingenui*, cf. xiv 4 5. *heres bullatus.* The rich would have this made of gold, *Mox ubi bulla rudi demissa est aurea collo, Matris et ante Deos libera sumpta toga*, Propert. iv 1 131 132; the poorer classes, as appears from this passage (and a schol. of the so-called Asconius on Cic. Verr. Act ii 1 c. 58), of leather, cf. Dict. G. and R. Ant. "Bulla," where an engraving of one is given. **168**: *minor altilis* some take to mean "lessened, by Virro and the other grandees having helped themselves." **169**: *stricto*, drawn like a sword. **170**: *qui te sic utitur*, "who makes this use of you." You are as good as a play to him. **171**: sqq. "You will some day, if you go on as you do now, be playing pantaloon in a pantomime, and be thumped by the clown," as we should say. Parasites, with their heads shaved, appear to have been introduced into farces for the purpose of being knocked about. Hence they are called *duri capitones*, Plaut. Pers. i 2 7; and compare Capt. i 1 20, 21, *Et hic quidem, hercle, nisi qui colaphos perpeti Potis parasitus, frangique aulas (i.q. ollas) in caput.*

INTRODUCTION TO SATIRE VI.

THIS is a satire upon women, and must, one would think, be a work of the poet's mature age. He addresses a person whom he calls Ursidius Postumus, and whom he supposes to be on the point of marriage. He endeavours to dissuade him from the project by showing him what the Roman women really are. Chastity has long since left the earth. Postumus had better take a rope and hang himself than plunge into matrimony. No woman is content with a single lover nowadays. They intrigue with actors, yes, and worse than that. Look at Hippia, the Senator's wife, running away with a gladiator! Look at Messalina, an Empress, frequenting a public brothel by night! True, some women get on well with their husbands; but that is because they have brought them a large dowry, or because of their beauty. As soon as that has begun to fade, good-bye to their lord's affection; and while it lasts, the wife profits by it to play the tyrant in all sorts of ways. Even granting there were such a thing as a perfect woman, she would bore the man, to whom she is united, to death—so puffed up would she be with her own great qualities. Then how sickening it is to see some of these women affect the Greek style in everything. The better husband you are likely to prove, the worse for you. You will simply become her slave. When she is tired of ordering you about, she will get a divorce, and marry some one else. Then your mother-in-law! No domestic happiness for you as long as she is above ground. She will put her daughter up to all sorts of tricks, and instigate her to plunder and deceive you.

Women mix themselves up in law-suits nowadays. Some practise the gladiatorial art in private. Of course, you will

be subject to curtain lectures. Your wife will cry out that you are deceiving her, while she herself has lovers without your knowing it. Even if you were undeceived, and caught her in the act, she would brazen it out. She would swear she had a right to do as she liked.

All these evils come from the growth of luxury, and our intercourse with foreign nations. The Roman matrons of old were a very different sort of people; but now look at the nocturnal orgies indulged in by ladies of high rank!

After a graphic picture of one of these orgies, the poet goes on to say that it is useless to attempt to set a guard over the women, for they always manage to elude or bribe their guardians. Then follow a series of highly finished sketches: of the lady who lives above her means, and hires a retinue, &c., to cut a dash in public; the lady who delights in eunuchs; the lady who dotes on musicians and actors; the brazen-faced gossip and busybody, who flies all over the city collecting, retailing, and inventing news; the imperious she-tyrant who bullies her poor neighbours, frequents the baths with a great retinue of attendants, and keeps her guests waiting supper; the literary lady; the fashionable woman who makes up her face with cosmetics before going out to meet her lover. It would be worth while, he continues, to inquire how some of these ladies spend their time. Their ill-will is vented upon their unfortunate slaves, whose lives are a torment to them. A council of retainers is called in to advise on the subject of my lady's head-dress, as if it were an affair of life and death. Of course, all this time they never bestow a thought upon their husbands, except to plunder and annoy them.

Next, we are introduced to the superstitions of women. They fall into the clutches of the priests of Isis and Cybele, by whom they are fleeced, and who impose on them various degrading ordeals. They consult Jewish fortune-tellers and Chaldean astrologers. Some go further, and become professors in the art themselves. The poorer class consult the vulgar fortune-tellers in the circus. Yet these poorer women, whatever their follies, bear and rear children. Rich ladies practise abortion, and impose supposititious babes upon their husbands; they deal in potions and philtres which produce

madness; they poison their step-sons, and their own sons, too, sometimes. They are worse than the heroines of tragic story, Medea, Clytaemnestra, and the like, because they commit their deeds of guilt in cold blood, and not in a frenzy of passion, with subtle poison in place of the rude axe.

As to the date of this Satire, we have a few indications which may help to guide us. (1.) The head-dress mentioned at 502 sqq. (see note) is one which certainly seems, from an inspection of coins, to have been in fashion during the reigns of Trajan and Hadrian, and not generally before, nor after these reigns. (2.) Lines 407–411 *may* refer to Trajan's Armenian and Parthian expeditions, and to the earthquake at Antioch in A.D. 115. (3.) In 205 coins are spoken of, bearing the inscription "*Dacicus et Germanicus.*" No such coins of Domitian's reign have been found; while there exist some of Trajan's. (4.) The castration of males is spoken of in 366 sqq. This practice was forbidden by Domitian and Nerva, and may have revived. (5.) Archigenes is spoken of as a distinguished physician, 236, and Archigenes is generally believed to have flourished in the reign of Trajan. (6.) At 555 we are told that *Delphis oracula cessant.* The oracle was restored by Hadrian.

These indications, though not perhaps of very great weight when taken singly, yet considered collectively, and in conjunction with what we gather from the other Satires, will leave small doubt that this one was published in the reign of Trajan or the earlier part of that of Hadrian.

NOTES TO SATIRE VI.

1-14: Modesty may once upon a time have been a dweller upon the earth, but it must have been in the very earliest ages, when Saturn was king. **1**: *Pudicitia* was personified by the ancients and had two sanctuaries or temples in Rome, as we learn from Livy x 23. Similarly *Fides, Concordia, Victoria, Honor, Virtus, Felicitas, Fortuna, Pietas, Salus,* &c., were personified and had temples, cf. Juv. i 116 117. Conjugal fidelity, rather than any other kind of chastity, is usually implied in the term, but it is not always confined to that meaning. *non nimis potest Pudicitiam quisquam suae servare filiae*, Plaut. Epid. iii 3 22 23, and Juv. x 297 298. The altar of *Pudicitia* is mentioned again at 308 of this Satire. Tertullian *may* have had this passage of Juvenal in his memory when he wrote that, under certain circumstances, *Pudicitia . . . aliquatenus in seculo morabitur*, De Pudicitia i. The point has some interest; for Tertullian shows a considerable acquaintance with the Roman standard authors; and it would throw some light upon the estimation in which our author was held in the succeeding generations, if we could establish direct references to him in the second century: see note to vii 3. *Saturno rege.* The fabled reign of Saturn in Latium, during what is called the Golden Age, is well known. *Primus ab aetherio venit Saturnus Olympo . . . Aurea quae perhibent illo sub rege fuerunt Secula*, Virg. Aen. viii 319 sqq. **2**: sqq. Compare the description of early man in Lucretius, v 925 sqq. *genus humanum multo fuit illud in arvis Durius . . . Glandiferas inter curabant corpora quercus plerumque . . . Necdum res igni scibant tractare, neque uti Pellibus, et spoliis corpus vestire ferarum, Sed nemora atque cavos montes silvasque colebant,* &c., passages which may have been in the eye of our author, *Homines*

veteri more ut ferae in silvis et speluncis et nemoribus nascebantur ciboque agresti vescendo vitam exigebant, Vitruv. ii 1. Cic. de Inv. i 2, &c. **7**: *Cynthia,* the mistress of Propertius, to whom many of his elegies are addressed. The other woman alluded to in *nec tibi,* &c., is the mistress of Catullus, on the death of whose pet sparrow, he wrote the well-known lines, beginning *Passer mortuus est meae puellae Quem plus illa oculis suis amabat,* Catull. 3. That this poem was popular with the Romans is evident from Martial i 8 and 110, vii 14, xi 6, iv 14, xiv 77. Juvenal says the rough women of the earliest ages were very different from such "petites maîtresses" as the sweethearts of Catullus and Propertius. Cyn. and Lesb. were assumed names. Apul. Apol. 10 gives the name of the former as Hostia, and of the latter as Clodia, whom it has been sought to identify with the sister of the famous P. Clodius Pulcer. See Ellis, Proleg. Catull. p. 55. **8**: *exstinctus passer,* i 163 note. The young Roman ladies delighted in small birds, Ov. Met. x 261. **10**: as *tetrico tristior ipsa viro,* Mart. i 6 32. **11**: *orbe novo coeloque recenti.* This is imitâted from Lucretius v 907, *tellure nova coeloque recenti.* **12**: One of the early legends represented men as coming out of the trunks of trees. *Gens virûm truncis et duro robore nata,* Virg. Aen. viii 315: compare Ov. Met. x 503, sqq. **13**: *compositi luto, i.e.,* by Prometheus, cf. xiv 35.

14–24: Some traces of modesty may have remained even in the time of Jupiter, but it must have been before he had grown up and got a beard, and before there were Greeks ready to swear by anything; she soon flew back to heaven again. Juvenal's contempt for the Greeks has been shown in Sat. iii; and will appear again, abundantly, in the course of this Satire. **16**: To swear by the head was very common, Matth. v 36. *ὅτι δ' ἱερὸν ἐνόμιζον τὴν κεφαλὴν, δῆλον ἐκ τοῦ καὶ κατ' αὐτῆς ὀμνύειν,* Athen. Deipn. ii 72. **17, 18**: Supply *quisque* before *haberet.* This construction is not uncommon in Latin, cf. Hor. Sat. i 1 1–3 (quoted by Macleane), and 108 109 of the same satire. *Nemo extulit eum verbis . . . sed contempsit,* Cic. de Orat. iii 14. Another instance is to be found in Tacitus, Hist. ii 52, *Ita trepidi et utrimque anxii coeunt, nemo privatim expedito consilio, inter multos societate culpae tutior,*

subaud. *quisque.* A similar construction is *suasit ne se moveret et exspectaret,* Cor. Nep. xviii 6. Compare with these lines Tibull. i 3 43 44. **19**: *Astraea,* daughter of Zeus and Themis. According to Ovid, she did not leave the earth till the iron age, Met. i 149. Compare Catull. 64 398, sqq. Ov. Fast. i 249 250. **20**: *hac comite,* sc. *Pudicitia.* Compare Virg. Georg. ii 474. **22**: *concutere,* "to shake," ix 78. *fulcri,* properly, "a bed-post:" here, a bed, as in xi 95.

25–37: And yet you are preparing to marry in our day. Better take a rope and hang yourself. **25**: *conventum, pactum, sponsalia* will all be found explained at length in the Dict. G. and R. Ant. "Obligationes" and "Matrimonium." The general meaning is, "you are preparing to take a wife." **27**: *pecteris.* Fr. "vous vous faîtes coiffer." We have no single word for it but the literal "combed," which does not express the full meaning. *tonsor magister* is a professor in the art; and here again "artiste capilliaire" (to be seen over certain barbers' shops in Paris) will be a pretty exact rendering, cf. ii 14, v 122. In England we have "professed cooks" and "professed trousers-makers." *structor capillaturae,* Tert. of a lady's coiffeur. The Roman bride was presented with a ring, as ours are, and it appears, in the elder Pliny's time, at any rate, to have been usually of iron. *Etiam nunc sponsae annulus ferreus mittitur, isque sine gemma,* H. N. xxxiii 1. He gives the reason a little above, that none but iron rings were formerly worn in daily use, and that this custom had been retained in the case of wedding-rings. *pignus.* The ring was presented on the occasion of the betrothal, and hence constituted a pledge. It was usual, with the Romans, to deposit a ring, as a pledge, for their keeping engagements of any kind. *dati annuli, locus, tempus constitutum est,* Ter. Eun. iii 4, where a pic-nic is spoken of. **29**: *Tisiphone,* one of the furies. They were represented with snakes in their hair. *Tam saevae facies, tot pullulat atra colubris,* Virg. Aen. vii 329. **30**: *dominam,* "mistress," in the sense of female tyrant. *salvis tot restibus. Cum tibi tot mortes . . . brevissima effugia,* Valer. Flacc. vii 331. Why choose martyrdom, when there are so many other ways of making away with yourself?—precisely the observation addressed to the Christians by one

of the Emperors. **31**: *caligantes fenestrae*, literally "dizzying windows," *i.e.*, windows which make people dizzy who look out of them. In iii 269 sqq. we have already had the great height of the houses alluded to. There are plenty of very high windows to jump from, says the poet. **32**: *Aemilius pons.* The exact position of this bridge has been a subject of great dispute. The whole subject is ably discussed in Dict. G. and R. Geog. art. "Roma," pp. 848 849, and Burn's "Rome and the Campagna," p. 263. It will be sufficient to say here that it was of stone, and that its foundations were laid by M. Aemilius Lepidus about B.C. 179, Livy, xl 51. The most approved opinion seems to be that its site was identical with that of the Ponte Rotto. **34, 37**: One is sorry to meet with these lines in Juvenal. But they do not involve any approval of what is referred to. The imaginary person addressed is not represented as a friend. A little lower down he is spoken of as *moechorum notissimus*, and then very soon drops out of sight, throughout the remainder of the Satire. *illud* is that present practice of yours. Comp. Cic. pro Cael. 15. *tecum semper pusio cum majore sorore cubitavit.* It seems to have been a regular thing for a bridegroom to give up his *pusio* on being married. Catull. 61 120 sqq. Mart. xi 78 1 2. **37**: *lateri* means "your powers," "your vigour," in an erotic sense frequent in Ovid. *Et lateri dabit in vires alimenta voluptas*, Am. ii 10 25. *Lassus amator, Invalidum referens emeritumque latus*, Id. iii 11 14. *Sed lateri nec parce tuo, pax omnis in uno Concubitu*, Id. A. A. ii 413. *latus et vires operamque afferte puellis*, Id. ii 673. **38**: *Ursidio.* Ursidius Postumus. He is satisfied with the Julian law, and content to forego the presents of fortune-hunters. A strange thing that so noted a rake should himself take a wife. *Lex Julia et Papia Poppaea*, in favour of marriage, cf. Dic. G. and R. Ant. *tollere*, the proper word, from the father taking up in his arms the child he wished to preserve, *quicquid peperisset, decreverunt tollere*, Ter. And. 3 14. **39, 40**: *captatore macello.* The market is here, as it were, personified, compare v 95, and see note to 657 of this Satire.

44: *turpi clausus in arca Quo te demisit peccati conscia herilis Contractum genibus tangis caput, estque marito Matronae*

peccantis in ambo justa potestas, Hor. Sat. ii 7 59, sqq. We can easily imagine that some such scene would be of frequent occurrence in farces, and that Latinus, as a favourite actor, would often have to jump into a chest, or other place of concealment, to avoid the fury of the outraged husband. *perituri* I take to mean "in danger of his life," *i.e.*, in the farce, and not "destined to perish," in allusion to Latinus being put to death by Nero, or his namesake by Domitian. The former meaning is much more in unison with the context, and certainly in better taste. This participle often has the sense which Heinrich would give to *terram subitura*, iv 10, "at the risk of," &c., and perhaps to *cariturus*, above 39. For a good example comp. Virg. Aen. xi 741, where *moriturus* is applied to one who is not destined to die. The meaning here evidently is "a man who has had such experience of Latinus's chest" (just as we might say, "of Falstaff's clothes-basket"), Met., for "a man who has had so many intrigues with married women." **45**: *Quid, quod*, "why add that," "nay, more," iii 147. **46**: *mediam venam.* I should be inclined to translate "lance him through the middle of his vein." But Holyday has a note (referred to by Macleane) in which he cites the authority of Paulus Aegineta, a medical writer of the seventh century, to the effect that a vein in the forehead was called *media*. "Bleed him well," is the meaning. **47**: *Delicias hominis;* cf. xiii 140. *Te nunc delicias extra communia censes Ponendum?* The accusative is very commonly used in these exclamations. *Homines ridiculos qui*, &c. *Lepidum amicum Sallustium*, Cicero. *Hominem te patientem, vel potius durum*, Plin. Epp. ii 10. *O te feminam simplicem*, Petron. 106. *Tarpeium linum*, the temple of Juno on the Tarpeian. **48**: *auratam juvencam*, a heifer, with her horns gilt, as they often were, for sacrifice, Plin. H. N. xxxiii 3; *inaurato taurus cadit hostia cornu*, Tib. iv i 15. The practice is alluded to by a host of writers, Homer, Plato, Livy, Virgil, Ovid, Martial, &c. **49, 50**: *contigerit* in one line, followed by *contingere* in the next. 50–54 may be an after-insertion. **50**: The Cerealia, or festival of Ceres, was celebrated by matrons clad in white, Liv. xxii 56, and, no doubt, women of good character were selected. There are few nowadays, says the

poet, worthy of taking part in these ceremonies. **51**: *quarum . . . oscula.* The reason is only too well explained by Martial in a number of passages. *Cujus ne spiritus purus est,* Petron. 9. Compare Seneca de Ira, ii 8, ad fin. **51, 52**: *necte coronam . . . corymbos,* see note to 79. **55, 56**: *magna . . . viventis.* This might also mean, "there is a great talk of a certain lady living, &c., and of her chastity." For this sense of *fama*, cf. 408. Of course, the personage is imaginary. But there is said to be *one* chaste woman somewhere, living in a remote country-house. Well, let her live in a little bit of a country-town, and preserve her chastity even there, and I will grant all that you please to say about her. I will give in to all that you tell us about her conduct in the paternal country-house. *casta est quam nemo rogavit,* as Ovid puts it. For the same sentiment, Cic. Verr. Act i 16. **56**: *Gabiis,* iii 192, note. *Fidenae,* a small town five miles from Rome (Castel Giubileo). The two are coupled together, again, in x 100. In both these passages, they stand for any small towns, and they had, perhaps, become proverbial from Horace, who uses their names in the same way, *Gabiis desertior atque Fidenis vicus,* Epp. i 11 8, and Propert. iv 1 34 36. Here, and x 100, Juv. makes the first syllable of *Fidenae* long. Hor. Epp. i 11 8, quoted above, and Virg. Aen. vi 773, make it short. *et agello cedo paterno,* "and I give up, abandon the paternal farm; I yield that question, and admit that her conduct may have been blameless there." Comp. ii 132. *cedat Iulus agris,* Virg. Aen. xii 185. **58**: *affirmat,* in our idiom, "who can affirm," as below, 60, *monstratur,* "can be shown;" 64, *non imperat,* "cannot command." Who can tell us that, with all her innocence, she may not have fallen in with Jupiter or Mars? Are these gods past work? The allusion to the amours of the gods needs no comment. **60**: *Porticibus.* These were public walks, covered in, as a protection from rain and heat, supported by columns, at least on one side, cf. Dict. Gr. and R. Ant. "Porticus." They answered the same purpose, no doubt, as the "Arcades" in Paris. Rich men had such walks of their own, on a smaller scale, iv 6. Ovid frequently speaks of the porticoes as the resort of women, but certainly not of such women as a Roman gentleman would be likely to

select a wife from; and the poet's inquiry does not seem to have much force here, cf. A. A. i 491, sqq., &c. **63**: *Chironomon Ledam*, the pantomimic Leda, *i.e.*, the part of Leda in a ballet of action. *Bathyllus*, the favourite and freedman of Maecenas, is here used for any pantomimic dancer, as *Chrysogonus* for a singer at 74, cf. Tac. Ann. i 54, Phaedr. v 6. *saltare Ledam* is to dance the part of Leda. *mimo saltante puellam*, dancing the part of a girl, Ov. **64**: *gannit*, "gasps, whines, whimpers," in an indecent sense, as in Appul. Met. vi 113. *Currum Deae prosequentes gannitu constrepenti lasciviunt passeres*, and v 107. It would seem that originally it expressed a sound made by a dog, Lucret. v 10 69, perhaps "yaps, yelps." **66**: *Thymele*, i 36 note, and viii 197, must, I think, be here an actress, and not "a country girl," as Macl. renders. Even Thymele, a rustic in comparison, has something in the way of her art to learn, by watching the exhibitions of passion on the part of these great ladies. Heinrich objects that Thymele, as a *mima*, would have nothing to do in these pantomimes. But she might have been a spectatress, as in iii the *juvenes lanistae* look on at the gladiatorial shows. **69**: The Ludi Plebeii, instituted probably to celebrate the reconciliation of the Patricians and Plebeians, after the first secession of the latter to the Mons Sacer, were held in November, and the Megalesia or Megalensia, in honour of Ceres, τῆς μεγάλης μητρὸς, in April. During the intervening months, it seems that no plays were acted, but on the recurrence of the Megalesia, as on the re-opening of our theatres for a fresh "season," new productions would naturally be called for, and old stock pieces revived. We accordingly find that four of Terence's comedies, the Andria, Eunuchus, Heauton Timorumenos, and Hecyra, bear the inscription "acta ludis Megalensibus." *atque . . . Megalesia.* The meaning is, while there is still a long interval of time before the Megalesian games replace the Plebeian. **70**: The ladies, during the recess, amuse themselves with private theatricals. The *subligar* or *subligaculum* was a pair of drawers worn by men, on various occasions, *ex. gr.*, by actors, Cic. de Off. i 35, and hence, Martial, in an epigram directed against the masculine tastes of one Philaenis, says that, among other things, *Harpasto quoque subligata ludit*,

"she plays at ball with a *subligar* on," vii 67, cf. Mart. iii 87. *Accius* must be some actor. **71, 72**: *Urbicus* is another actor. For the affection of Roman ladies for theatrical artists, Mart. vi 6. *exodio*, iii 175. They were interludes of a merry kind, performed between the Atellane and other plays. These Atellan plays were so called from Atella in Campania, cf. Livy, vii 2. For full information, cf. Dict. G. and R. Ant. "Comoedia" and "Exodia." *Autonoe*, the daughter of Cadmus, in company with her sister Agave, tore Pentheus to pieces in her Bacchic fury. The subject, no doubt, had been burlesqued, as the story of "Medea," &c., with us. **73**: *solvitur . . . fibula*. The object of the *fibula* was to prevent singers from having sexual intercourse, and so injuring their voices, and this will explain the words following: *Sunt quae Chrysogonum cantare vetent*, *i.e.*, they spoil his voice. Martial, xiv 215, says, *Dic mihi simpliciter comoedis et citharoedis Fibula quid praestat? carius ut futuant.* See below 379, sqq.; Mart. vii 82, xi 75. **74**: *Hispulla*. This name occurs again at xii 11, where the woman who bears it, is described as being very fat. Pliny the younger married the niece of one Hispulla, to whom he addressed one of his epistles iv 19, and of whom he speaks in terms of great respect, as indeed he does of almost everybody. **75**: *an exspectas . . . ametur?* "Do you suppose such a man as Quintilian will be the object of any of these ladies' affections? No! actors, artists, and gladiators are their choice." Juvenal had a great respect for Quintilian, 280 of this Satire, vii 186; and so had Martial, ii 90. There was a tradition that the poet was his pupil. **76, 77**: *Echion* and *Ambrosius* are unknown. *Glaphyrus* is mentioned by Mart. iv 5. *Choraules* is a choral flute-player, but, in Petron. 53, he is represented as singing; *choraulem meum jussi Latine cantare.* **78, 79**: Some put these lines between inverted commas, and make a break after *lauro;* the poet, as it were, taking up the rest of the sentence, as in iii 153–155, *et sedeant hic*, &c. It was usual on the occasion of a marriage to adorn the doors and door-posts with flowers and garlands. Davus, in the Andria of Terence, gives it as a reason for supposing that the marriage of Pamphilus is not really contemplated by his father, *Video exire neminem, matronam nullam in aedibus, nil*

ornati, nil tumulti, ii 2 27 28. See above 51 sqq. of this Satire. In Catull. 64, at the marriage of Peleus and Thetis, laurels, &c., are similarly disposed; *Vestibulum ut molli velatum fronde vireret*. So *Fronde virent postes, et fervent compita flammis*, Stat. Silv. i 2 231. *Domus tota lauris obsita, taedis lucida, constrepebat Hymenaeum*, App. Met. iv 81. This practice of decorating the house-front, innocent enough one would imagine, was violently censured by the early Christians. Lines 79–81 are to my mind among the finest of their kind for rhythm. **80**: *testudineo*. Furniture and particularly beds and tables, were often inlaid with tortoise-shell. *Gemmantes prima fulgent testudine lecti*, Mart. xii 66 5, ix 60 9, xiv 87, and cf. Juv. xi 93 95. *testudo . . . Clarum Trojugenis factura et nobile fulcrum*. *testudineo* is here, accordingly, a synonym for "magnificent," as we should say "in your state bed." *conopeo*, a "mosquito-curtain," is here put for the whole bed, which would be, of course, entirely surrounded by these curtains. In Horace, the word appears under a slightly different form, *Interque signa turpe militaria Sol aspicit conopium*, Epod. 9 15, and again in Propert. iii 11 45. *Lentulus* is here used purposely for one belonging to the highest nobility, so as to render more striking the fact of his wife being delivered of a gladiator's son; cf. vii 95, viii 187. Cicero coins the word *Lentulitas*, to signify pride of birth. *Etiamne tu . . . ullam Appietatem aut Lentulitatem valere apud me plus quam ornamenta virtutis existimas?* Epist. iii. 7. The commentators suppose the poet to refer to a story by Cicero, the elder Pliny, and Valerius Maximus, of the great likeness between one of the Lentuli and an actor; but I do not think that has any bearing here. According to Quintilian vi 3, the Lentuli were small, so that it was said, by way of joke, that "by propagation they would in time come to nothing;" and this is confirmed by a bon-mot of Cicero's, related by Macrobius, Saturn. ii 2. There *might* be a reference here to their stature—to the birth of a brawny infant in such a family. **81**: Martial says to a man, of one of his sons, *At ille, sima nare, turgidis labris, Ipsa est imago Pannici palaestritae*, vi 39 9. *exprimere* is a metaphor from modelling. Seneca uses the word in the same sense. *Zenonem*

Cleanthes non expressisset si eum tantummodo audisset, Epp. 6. Plin. Epp. i 20. Cic. pro Rab. Post. 2.

82–113: A lively picture of one of these great ladies, wife of a senator, eloping with a common gladiator, and making off, in his company, to Egypt. The name given to this lady is *Hippia*, which occurs again at x 220, and the gladiator is called *Sergius*. These are feigned names, according to Heinrich, and are taken from Cicero, Philipp. ii 25. *tum existimarit se suo jure cum Hippia vivere, et equos vectigales Sergio mimo tradere.* But then, *Veiento*, a real and well-known, and possibly living, character, iii 185, iv 113, is mentioned at 113 of this Satire as the lady's husband. This, says Heinrich, is after Juvenal's manner, "her Veiento, her husband, the senator." This does not appear to me an altogether satisfactory explanation of "Veiento." The coincidence of the other two names with those in Cicero, is, however, curious. It had been noticed by others before Heinrich. In Plutarch's "Antony," 9, *Hippias* appears as a *mimus*, at whose marriage Antony attends; Sergius as another *mimus*. It is not certain that *Hippia* in Cicero (and again below *tantum vini in Hippiae nuptiis exhauseras, etc.*) is a female form, as Heinr. will have it. Both may come from *Hippias*, as well as *Hippia*. At any rate, whatever may be the character of the names employed, some real occurrence appears to be referred to. **83**: *famosa moenia Lagi* = *moenia famosi Lagi*, as *fumosa Palilia foeno.* Pers. i 72. So *Canopus*, 84, is called *famosus*, xv 46. The pair shocked even the dissolute cities of Egypt, Alexandria (the capital of the Ptolemies, of whom the first "Soter" was the son of Lagus), and Canopus i 26. The latter was proverbial for its effeminacy and corruption, xv 46. **87**: *Paris*, the celebrated actor, a favourite of Domitian, vii 87. Whether Paris was alive at the time of this woman's flight, or whether the name is used generally for the great actors of Rome, we do not know. The meaning is, she not only deserted her children, but—would you believe it?—the games and the stage. **88**: *plumaque paterna*, the luxurious downy couches of her father's house; *pluma Sardanapali*, x 362. *Circumfusa rosis et nigra recumbit amomo Dormit et in pluma purpureoque toro*, Mart. xii 17, where *pluma* is used in the

sense of luxurious repose; Juv. i 159, Mart. x 13, Lucil. fragm. vi 14, *Pluma atque amphitapae et si aliud deliciarum;* cf. Propert. iii 7 50. **89**: *segmentatis*, ii 124. Here the word means either decorated with ribbons, fringes, &c., or inlaid. **90**: *contempsit*, "despised," did not care for the sea, which the Romans generally cared for a good deal. Compare the touch in Virgil, *miseri nautae* (Georg. iii 313) with the *periculum navigandi* of Cicero (Flacc. 36), and scores of other passages showing this. Heinrich quotes this line on v 102, where he gives the sense of *non timet*, "is not afraid of;" but this will not exactly do for *famam*, unless we give it the sense of *infamiam*, as some at i 72; and this sense the next line 91 shows to be impossible. *fama* is here "reputation." *olim*, long since. **91**: *jactura*, iii 125. *cathedrae* were softly cushioned seats in which women sat, and in which they were sometimes carried about. They are called *femineae* by Martial, as here *molles*. *Hunc qui femineis noctesque diesque cathedris Incedit, tota notus in urbe nimis*, Mart. xii 38, and again iii 63, *Inter femineas tota qui luce cathedras Desidet*, and so Calpurn. vii 27. Cf. Mart. x 13, Hor. Sat. i 10 91, Juv. ix 52. Men were also sometimes carried about in them, but this was looked upon as effeminate, Juv. i 65. (The word in vii 203 has a different sense, that of professorial chairs from which lectures were delivered, Mart. i 77.) They were naturally used only by women of the upper classes, and hence *apud molles cathedras* means "among dames of high degree." In Virg. Aen. viii 665 666, the word *mollis* is also applied to a vehicle *Pilentis matres in mollibus*, where some render "softly-cushioned," but the meaning there seems to be, "easy of motion." The meaning might also be "snug," or "cosy," as in Georg. iii 295. **97**: They are bold enough, when they are engaged in anything which they ought to be ashamed of. **99**: *sentina* is used both of the hold, and the bilge-water. *Summ. vert. aer* is like *assidua rapitur vertigine coelum.* Ov. Met. ii 70. Virg. Georg. ii 123. **100–102**: She goes so far as to handle the ropes (*duro teneras laedere fune manus*, Propert. iii 7 48), a graphic touch. But the whole passage is in the author's best style, and a few lines further down the gladiator is put before us by a few strokes of the pen. **103**:

qua capta juventa. This is much better than the reading *juventa est.* The *est* has evidently been supplied, and its omission is quite after the manner of the poet. *Si tibi simplicitas uxoria,* below 206. *ac pariter toto repetitus clamor ab antro,* 328. **104**: *ludia,* the female of *ludius,* "the gladiator's woman;" "Mrs. Gladiator," as we should say. The word occurs in Mart. v 24 10, but in the sense of a female dancer, an actress. See this Satire 266. **105**: *radere guttur.* This is satirical: "Little Sergius had begun to shave, I can tell you. He was no longer a beardless youth," xiv 217. But, coupled with what follows, this seems to allude to a commencement of shaving in middle life. (Aut. Gell. iii 4.) Perhaps before this, he had only cut his beard close, as the poorer classes often did. Dandies trimmed it carefully, *Sit coma sit docta barba resecta manu,* Ov. A. A. i 518. Unless we give to *et* the sense of "and even." **108**: It is better to take *attritus galea* together, as Heinrich does, as a place galled by the helmet. Substantives derived from verbs sometimes take after them the same case that would follow the verb from which they are derived. *signator falso,* i 67, *justitia est obtemperatio scriptis legibus,* Cic. Other instances are given by Heinrich, to which add Plaut. (with whom it is very common), Amph. i 1 12, Most. i 1 33, &c., Cic. Verr. ii 7 5, Long. In Greek this is also common. ἐπανάστασις τοῖς δυνατοῖς. Thucyd. viii 21. ἐπιδρομὴν τῷ τειχίσματι. Id. iv 23. A wen on his nose would hardly be galled by the helmet. **109**: *acre malum,* &c. Martial alludes to the deformity of a weeping eye, *Oculo Philaenis semper altero plorat,* iv 65. **110**: Their trade makes them as beautiful as Hyacinthus. He was beloved by Apollo and changed into a flower bearing his name, Ov. Met. x 162, sqq. **111**: The introduction of such a particularity as *sorori* seems to show that this is a real case. **113**: *accepta rude.* The man is represented as having left Italy before getting his discharge, which would have rendered him liable to be sent back if captured. Gladiators, when entitled to their discharge, were presented with a *rudis* or wooden sword, and became *rudiarii.* *Tutaque deposito poscitur ense rudis,* Ov. Am. ii 9 22. *Tam bonus gladiator rudem tam cito accepisti?* Cic. Phill. ii 29. See Juv. vii 171 note. The meaning is, if

he had once ceased to be a gladiator, she would have thought him no better than her husband Veiento.

114–132: A picture of a still darker kind, an Empress (Messalina) leaving the Imperial couch and prostituting herself in a public brothel. Messalina has become proverbial; and from what we learn of her from other sources, it is probable that Juvenal has not on the whole exaggerated in the following description, though he has doubtless added a few touches of his own. **114**: *privata* as distinguished from imperial households, iv 66, xii 107, and Plin. Epp. v 3, where after quoting a long list of illustrious names, including Brutus, Sulla, &c., he goes on to say, *Si non sufficiunt exempla privata . . . Divum Julium, D. Augustum, D. Nervam, Titum Caesarem* . . . (all four Emperors). Originally *vir privatus* was a man who was not in any public office. And in that sense, *privatus* is often found, subsequently to Juvenal's time, *ex. gr.*, Aul. Gell. ii 2, where *filius magistratus* is contrasted with *pater privatus.* (Later, it meant a civilian, "pekin," as opposed to a soldier; Lampr. Alex. Sev. 58, a sense omitted in the Dicts.) **115**: *Respice,* simply "observe," ii 44, iii 268, &c. *rivales Divorum,* the rivals of our "Divi," or Emperors. Look at the sort of rivals our god-like Emperors have been favoured with! *rivalis* almost always signifies "a rival in love;" and the usual meaning of the word cannot be better given than in a line of Plautus, Stich. iii 1 30, *Eadem est amica ambobus: rivales sumus.* Still in Juvenal's time, it had certainly come to be used occasionally in the sense of *aemulus,* xii 126; and *rivales Divorum* may mean that the Emperors were rivals of the gods. *Claudius,* the husband of Messalina. **117**: *teges* was a coarse mattress, such as appears to have been found in the lowest class of brothels, and in the apartments of slaves, &c. *Pater ex Marulla, Cinna factus es septem Non liberorum: namque nec tuus quisquam Nec est amici, filiusve vicini, Sed in grabatis tegetibusque concepti Materna produnt capitibus suis furta,* Mart. vi 39 4, Juv. v 8. **118**: *cucullos,* "a hood," or cowl, attached to the coarsest sort of garments, and used as a protection against the weather, or as here and at 330 viii 145, for purposes of concealment. **120**: *galero* is here "a wig." *Galericulum* is more commonly used in this sense,

Suet. Otho, 12. Tertullian de Cultu Feminarum, uses the same word as Juvenal, *affigitis praeterea nescio quas enormitates sutilium et textilium capillamentorum nunc in galeri modum,* &c. Messalina puts on a flaxen wig, because that was the fashionable colour for the hair of girls and women at Rome, and would hence naturally be affected by prostitutes. Below 354, Hor. Od. i 5 4, ii 4 14, Mart. v. 68, &c., &c. **121**: This is generally rendered "She entered the brothel warm with the old patchwork quilt." Heinrich takes *centone* to be "a cloth hung up before the doors, keeping the air out of the cells and the reeking moisture in." Compare Mart. xi 45 3, *Contentus non es foribus, veloque seraque,* and again i 35 5, *At meretrix abigit testem veloque seraque,* where the commentators explain *velo* by "velo ex centonibus januae apposito, ne per forium rimas intropisci possit." In Petron. 7, *Ut in locum secretiorem venimus, centonem anus urbana rejecit,* the word *cento* clearly has this meaning, which I have little doubt is the correct one here. **122**: *cellam.* Some of the stews at Rome appear to have been constructed, as described by Gifford, in the form of a gallery, along which were ranged, on each side, a number of contiguous cells or little chambers (*cellae*). *Jam pro cella meretrix assem exegerat,* Petron. 8. "Over the doors of these," continues Gifford, "was written the name, and in some cases, the price of the tenants." This is what Martial alludes to in xi 45, *Intrasti quoties inscriptae limina cellae.* *nuda.* These women seem generally to have exhibited themselves to the purchaser in a state of nudity, *sub clara nuda lucerna,* Hor. Sat. ii 7 48, and the passage in Petron. 7, part of which has been quoted above, *Ut in locum secretiorem venimus, centonem anus urbana, rejecit et Hic, inquit, debes habitare. Cum ego negarem me cognoscere domum, video quosdam inter titulos nudasque meretrices furtim conspatiantes. Tarde, immo jam sero, intellexi me in fornicem esse deductum;* compare Tac. Ann. xv 37, *scorta visebantur nudis corporibus,* and Dio. 79 13 (of Elagabalus) *γυμνός τε ἀεὶ ἐπὶ τῆς θύρας αὐτοῦ ἑστὼς ὥσπερ αἱ πόρναι,* and he shook a curtain (*σινδόνιο*), which appears to the same as *cento* here, cf. Juv. xi 171–173. **123**: *curatis* means that they were covered with gold-leaf, a custom said to be still prevalent in the East; Gifford's note. *titulum* is the inscription over the

door of each cell, containing the name and terms of the inmate. See notes to 122. Compare a passage in M. Seneca, Controv. i 2, which resembles this one closely, as all such descriptions must resemble each other, *Meretrix vocata es, in communi loco stetisti, superpositus est cellae tuae titulus, venientes recepisti. Cetera, etiam si in communi loco essem, tamen potius tacerem.* Our author is not quite so delicate. *Lycisca* occurs in Mart. iv 17 1. It was probably a common name for prostitutes. **124**: *generose*, "nobly-born," viii 57. *Britannicus* was the son of Claudius and Messalina, set aside in favour of Nero, and poisoned by him. *tuum ventrem*, "in quo tu conceptus es, et e quo natus prodiisti." In Hor. Epod. 17, the same words are used in an entirely different sense, *tuusque venter Pactumeius.* Pactumeius is your offspring, and so *uterus*, Tac. Ann. i 59, and *viscera*, Ov. Met. x 465. **126**: *absorbuit*, cf. x 223. *ictus.* Horace uses *verbera* in the same obscene sense, Sat. ii 7 49, and Plautus, *verberari*, Asin. iii 3 38. **128**: *abit*, contracted form of *abiit*, as *perit* 295, *obit* 559, *perit* 563 and x 118. *quod potuit. Quod potui, renui*, Ov. Her. 8 3, Fast. v 472. *Quod potuit, ne nil illic ageretur amavit*, Ov. Rem. Am. 167 (according to the best reading), *i.e.*, quod solum potuit, "to the best of her power." **129**: *tentigine*, Hor. Sat. i 2 118, Mart. xi 58 1. **131, 132**: *Quod spurcae moriens lucerna Ledae . . . Mallem quam quod oles, olere Bassa*, Mart. iv 4. *obscuris* is "black," *omnibus obscuras injicit illa manus* (of death), Ov. Am. iii 9 20. *pulvinar*, though sometimes signifying an ordinary cushion, as in Petron. 134, *super pulvinar caput inclinavi*, is principally used for the couches on which the images of the gods were placed at the Lectisternia, *i.e.*, when food was set before them on solemn occasions. So Horace says *Ornare pulvinar Deorum Tempus erat dapibus sodales*, Od. i 37 3. It is used here with an evident dash of irony, and is connected with *Divorum*, 115, "to the divine couch;" compare Sueton. Domit. 13. **133, 135**: These verses are somewhat out of place here, and are omitted by Ribbeck. The subject is resumed at 610. *Hippomanes* is a lump of flesh on the forehead of a new-born foal which the dam was supposed to tear off with her teeth, 616, and Pliny, H. N. viii 42. It is also applied to a humour which runs

from mares, *virus amantis equae*, Ov., Plin. H. N. xxviii 11, Virg. Georg. iii 280, sqq., Propert. iv 5 18, Tibull. ii 4 57, and to a plant, Theocr. 2 48. In any case, it was supposed to stimulate the sexual passions, and also to drive people mad, which, I think, is referred to here, as at 616. *coctum* does not mean "mixed with the food in cooking," but prepared, *i.e.*, by boiling down, or otherwise; "a decoction," as we say. So water boiled down to make it more easy to cool, with snow, was called *decocta*, v. 50. **134**: *graviora* refers to the kind of crimes just mentioned, poisonings, &c. They are capable of worse crimes (than those of a Hippia or Messalina) when the fiercer passions of their sex are called into play, compared with which, the sins caused by mere lust are as nothing.

136–141: But Caesennia gets on very well with her husband. "Yes, because she has a large fortune settled on her, in consideration of which she does just exactly what she pleases. She has all the liberty of a single woman." **137**: *Bis quingenta.* Ten hundred thousand sesterces, nearly £8000. It should be borne in mind that a Roman woman could manage to retain considerable power over the dowry she brought her husband; and she might threaten to divorce herself, and claim its restitution. *dedit*, as at ii 117. *tanti voc. ill. pud.* compare Plin. Epp. ii 14. *tanti constat ut sis disertissimus.* **138**: *sola fervet de lampade Christi*, Prudent. Psychom. 57, who may have had this line in his mind. **141**: *rescribat*, to her lover, as at 234.

142–160: "Then, again, Sertorius is very fond of his Bibula." Yes, because of her beauty. Let *that* begin to fade, and he will soon send her to the right about. Meanwhile, she tyrannises over him, and obliges him to give her the most costly presents. **143**: *excutias. excutere*, in this sense, is properly to shake any one to see if he has got anything concealed about him, to shake out his coat, &c. *Di me perdant si ego tui quicquam abstuli. Agedum excutedum pallium*, Plaut. Aul. iv 4 18. *excutit redeuntem natura, sicut intrantem*, Sen. Epp. 102. Hence "to sift out," "examine thoroughly," *Magnifica verba mors prope admota excutit*, Id. Troad. 575. *Caesar, excussis probationibus, centurionem exauctoravit, i.e.*, cashiered him after an investigation, Plin. Epp. vi 31.

144: *se cutis arida laxet*, "let the skin grow dry and shrivelled," i 83, note. *se laxare* is "to grow loose," and so to run into folds or creases, *i.e.*, wrinkles. *laxantur corpora rugis*, Ov. A. A. iii 73. **146**: *sarcinulas*, iii 161. The sense here is "pack up your baggage." *Collegi sarcinulas*, Petron. 81. So Cic. describes a divorce, *Illam suam suas res sibi habere jussit . . . exegit*, Phil. ii 28. *libertus*. "By the Lex Julia de Adulteriis, it was provided that there should be seven witnesses to a divorce, Roman citizens of full age, *puberes*, and a freedman of the party who made the divorce, Dig. 24, tit. 2, s. 9," Dict. G. and R. Ant. "Divortium." **147**: *gravis*, "offensive," "disagreeable." A good example of this meaning of the word may be given from Seneca; *Quocumque decidit fulmen, ibi odorem esse sulfuris certum est, qui quia gravis est*, etc., Nat. Quaest. ii 53. **147**: *nobis*, "to us," to the household. The freedman is represented as speaking in his own name, as well as that of his master, and this greatly adds to the humour of the passage. *saepe emungeris*. Comp. *madidique infantia nasi*, x 199. *sicco venit altera naso*, in the next line, is inimitable. **150**: sqq. She makes her husband buy for her sheep from Canusium—which were famous for their wool, from which cloaks were made, Plin. H. N. viii 48, Mart. ix 23, xiv 127 and 129,—and the shepherds who tend them, and whole gangs of slaves. *ergastula* were bridewells, or prisons, attached to Roman farms, where the slaves were set to work in chains, or from which they were taken to work, chained, in the fields. In xiv 24, it is called *carcer rusticus*. Refractory slaves were usually sent to these places as a punishment, viii 179 180. *accedes opera agro nona Sabino*, Hor. Sat. ii 7 118. **153**: sqq. But for a note of the scholiast, we should have some difficulty in understanding what follows. The *Saturnalia* in December were followed by the *Sigillaria*, a kind of fancy fair, so called from the little figures, or images, *sigilla*, which were sold there. At this fair, says the scholiast, white canvas booths were erected, as with us, and among other places against the portico of Agrippa, which was ornamented with a fresco representing Jason and the Argonauts. This explains *mercator Iason clausus et armatis obstat casa candida nautis*. This fresco seems to be alluded to

by Mart. iii. 20 10, *Hinc si recessit, porticum terit templi, An spatia carpit lentus Argonautarum?* and again in ii 14, *Si nihil Europe fecit tum septa petuntur Si quid Phillyrides praestet et Aesonides.* Comp. Mart. i 11 12. Dion. Cass., liii 27, expressly mentions it, and speaks of a painting such as Juvenal here alludes to, (Αγρίππας) *τὴν στοὰν τὴν τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ὠνομασμένην καὶ ἐξῳκοδόμησεν ἐπὶ ταῖς ναυκρατίαις, καὶ τῇ τῶν ᾿Αργοναυτῶν γραφῇ ἐπελάμπρυνε.* This building may have been burnt in the time of Titus, Dio. Cass. lxvi 24; but it seems probable that (together with the fresco) it was restored. From various passages we gather that these porticoes were frequently, perhaps generally, ornamented with frescoes of mythological subjects, Ov. Am. ii 2 4, A. A. i. 67, sqq., Mart. v 49, 12, vii 32 12, ii 14 3, &c. *mercator* is a jesting, but not an inappropriate term to apply to Jason, who made a long voyage and acquired a rich return for it. **155**: *crystallina* seem to have been vessels of pure white glass. Alexandria was famous for them, *Quum tibi Niliacus portet crystalla cataplus*, Mart. xii 74: and again xiv 115, the "lemma," or heading to which is *Calices vitrei*, begins *Aspicis ingenium Nili.* **156**: *Murrina* are repeatedly mentioned by Martial as objects of great value, *Praedia solus habes, et solus Candide nummos Aurea solus habes, murrina solus habes*, iii 26; *Crystallinisque murrinisque propinat*, iii 82, and see x 80, xiii 110, &c., xiv 113, Juv. vii 133. *Nos bibimus vitro tu murrha Pontice*, &c., Mart. iv 86, from which it would seem that the material was not transparent. What it was is uncertain. The better opinion is that it was the same as Chinese porcelain. *Murreaque in Parthis pocula cocta focis*, Propert. iv 5 26. On the other hand, from Pliny's description of it, H. N. xxxvii 2 8, it has been identified with what is known to us as fluor or Derbyshire spar, while others suppose it to be a kind of rock amethyst. See Becker's "Gallus," Sc. ii, Exc. 3. **156, 157**: A diamond whose value was enhanced by its having been worn by Berenice. This might very well be (see v 44–46 note). This Berenice was the sister of Agrippa mentioned below, before whom St. Paul was brought. She lived with her brother, after the death of her husband and uncle Herod, not without a suspicion of incestuous intercourse between them, to which allusion is here made. **159**: Juve-

nal, like most of his countrymen, had doubtless a somewhat confused view of Jewish ceremonies, though he gives, for a satirist, a tolerably fair sketch of their creed in xiv 96–106. *mero pede*, so *calce mera*, Prudent. Peristeph. 6 91. **160**: *indulget senibus porcis.* Heinrich renders *ut senes fiant*, and quotes x 307, *deformem castravit*, which is not at all to the point. The poet says, somewhat loosely, after his manner, that there, *i.e.*, in Judaea, even old pigs are spared, as though they were considered sacred animals; compare xiv 98. Most likely he thought the Jews viewed them in that light. Petronius, in one of his Fragments, says so expressly; *Judaeus licet et porcinum numen adoret.*

161–183: Does no woman, then, seem worthy of your regard? No, for those who have any merit make such a fuss about it, that there is no bearing them. They are as puffed up with pride as Niobe, who brought on herself the vengeance of Diana. Their husbands get to hate these examples of female perfection. **162, 163**: *vetustos . . . avos.* Statues of ancestors were usually put up in the *atrium*, the principal room in the house. Martial speaks of one who *atria immodicis arctat imaginibus*, ii 90 6. *Atria Pisonum stabant cum stemmate toto*, iv 40. See Juv. viii 1, sqq. *dispositas generosa per atria ceras*, Ov. Fast. i 591. **163, 164**: An allusion to the well-known story of the Sabine women throwing themselves between the combatants and putting an end to the war. The story is told by Livy, i 13, from whom Juvenal seems to have borrowed his language, *Sabinae mulieres . . . crinibus passis . . . ausae se inter tela volantia inferre . . . dirimere acies, dirimere iras. nostro dirimamus sanguine bellum*, Virg. Aen. xii 79. *intactior* refers to their chastity. The Sabines were generally instanced as a people of uncorrupted morals, iii 169, note. *Casta nec antiquis cedens Laevina Sabinis*, Mart. i 63. *Sunt chartae mihi quas Catonis uxor Et quas horribiles legant Sabinae*, xi 15, and cf. ix 41 5, x 33. Propertius has *intactas Sabinas*, ii 6 21. **165**: *Rara avis.* This seems to have been a proverbial expression, Pers. i 46: compare Juv. vii 202. Black swans were not known in Juvenal's time. Cf. Lucret. ii 824. **166–171**: *malo, Malo*, like *fient, Fient ista palam*, ii 135 136, the repetition of the word adding emphasis

to the sentiment. *Venusinam* put for any countrywoman, as *Sulmonensi* below 187. *Cornelia*, the daughter of P. Corn. Scipio Africanus, the conqueror of Hannibal and Syphax, and the wife of T. Sempronius Gracchus, by whom she had twelve children. *triumphos*, your triumphs, *i.e.*, the triumphs of your family. *tolle.* So Ovid, *Tolle tuos tecum pauper amator avos*, Am. i 8 66. *migra*, "make yourself scarce," "be off." *migrare* is the regular word for changing one's abode. Cic. ad Div. vii 23. So *emigrare*, Plautus, constantly. *Hinc abite lymphae*, says Catullus, "to water," *vini pernicies, et ad severos migrate*, 27 5. **172**: sqq. Niobe, proud of her fecundity, insulted Latona. Apollo slew her sons, and Diana her daughters. The story is told by Ovid, Met. vi. Amphion, her husband, is here represented as entreating the angry divinities to spare his innocent children, and to wreak their vengeance on the mother alone. *tu* is addressed to Diana. *extulit*, 1 72, note. *greges natorum*, because she had so many of them. In Sen. Troad. 32, Hecuba speaks of *meorum liberum magni greges, ipsumque maritum.* According to Ovid, Amphion destroyed himself, Met. vi 271. *scrofa alba.* This is the famous white sow of the Aeneid, with thirty young, Virg. Aen. iii 390, sqq., viii 43, sqq. It is again alluded to by our poet in xii 73 74. *imputet*, v 14, note, literally, "that she should always be reckoning herself to your credit." *usque adeo*, so "utterly," as in iii 84, v 129, &c. **184**: As this line will stand by itself and contains a sort of apophthegm, it is of course pronounced spurious. And *num* has been proposed in the next line for *nam* (by Heinrich) without any authority that I am aware of. The change would be the reverse of an improvement.

185-199: Juvenal, in this passage, must have had in his eye an epigram of Martial, which I quote entire: *Cum tibi non Ephesos nec sit Rhodos aut Mitylene, Sed domus in vico Laelia patricio Deque coloratis numquam lita mater Etruscis Durus Aricina de regione pater;* Ζωὴ καὶ Ψυχὴ *lascivum congeris usque Pro pudor! Hersiliae civis et Egeriae Lectulus has voces nec lectulus audiat omnis Sed quem lasciro straverit amica viro. Scire cupis quo casta modo matrona loquaris Numquid cum crissas blandior esse potes? Tu licet ediscas totam referasque Corinthon Non tamen*

omnino Laelia Thais eris, x 68. **187**: *Omnia Graece.* An old Roman's cry. And, in fact, after this, the most important works were, for a long time, written in Greek. The younger Pliny seems to have thought differently. *Hominemne Romanum tam Graece loqui!* he exclaims, in admiration, Epp. iv 3. In the next line, Juvenal may have had Cicero's expression in his mind, *Non enim tam praeclarum est scire Latine quam turpe nescire*, Brut. 37. For *Cecropis*, an Athenian, cf. ii 92. *parent*, 238, note. **191**: *concumbere*, "rem Veneream habere." **194**: sqq. See Martial's epigram quoted above. **194**: One might take away the full stop after *retula* and put what follows into the same sentence; and so, Mr. Evans appears to take it. "In an old woman this language becomes immodest, when interspersed with the wanton Ζωὴ καὶ Ψυχή." But I believe that Juvenal was quite capable of writing that Greek was an indecent language in an old woman's mouth. **195**: *sub lodice*, "under the counterpane," vii 66, Mart. xiv 148. They formed the outside covering of the bed. The best seem to have been made at Verona. *Lodices mittet docti tibi terra Catulli*, Mart. xiv 152. **197**: *bland et neq.* for these two words similarly conjoined, cf. Mart. ii 1 2 4. *digitos habet* is infinitely more graphic than *digitos valet*, suggested by Heinrich. Compare Mart. xi 29. **198**: *Haemus*, iii 99, and *Carpophorus*, apparently actors who excelled in female parts. **199**: *facies tua computat annos. contra te facies imperiosa tua est*, Mart. vi 23.

200-221: If you are not likely to love your wife, you had better break off the match. If you are, so much the worse for you; she will tyrannise over you in every way. **200**: *legitimis tabellis. non nisi legitime vult nubere*, x 338. **202**: *coenam*, "the wedding-supper," *ingens coena sedei*, ii 119. *Hic nuptialem (coenam) cras dabit*, Plaut. Curc. v 2 61. *mustacea* were a kind of wedding-cakes, distributed to the guests. Cicero says proverbially *laureolam in mustaceo quaerere*, to look after fame in trifles. Cato, R. R. 121, gives the recipe for making them. *Mustaceus* (masculine) is the common form, *loc. cit.* and Stat. Silv. i 6 19. **203**: *labente officio*, "at the conclusion of their complimentary attendance," ii 132. *crudis*, to people who have over-eaten themselves already. *ebrius et*

crudus, a man who has had too much to eat and too much to drink, Mart. xii 76. **204**: *beata*, "rich," because of the quantity of coins put in it. We have no other mention of this practice that I am aware of. **205**: *Dacicus et Germanicus.* Ruperti understands *nummus*; but I think nothing is to be "understood." *Retulit acceptos regale numisma Philippos*, Hor. Epp. ii 1 234. *Centum dominos novae monetae*, Mart. iv 28 5. It is as though we should say "with so many Louis d'or and Napoleons shining on the plate." The coins are, as it were, personified. Martial dedicates his eighth book "*Imp. Domitiano Caes. Aug. Germanico Dacico*," and often styles him *Germanicus*, v 3, viii 26, &c.; so does Statius Silv. i 1 5, iii 4 49. It is said that there are no coins of Domitian in existence referring to the Daci, though there are of Trajan. **206**: *simplicitas uxoria.* There does not seem the slightest difficulty about these words. *uxorius* means, (1) of or pertaining to a wife, (2) uxorious, precisely in our sense. *uxorius amnis*, Horace; *uxorius urbem exstruis*, Virg.; *uxorius imber*, Stat., "tears shed for a wife." Yet Heinrich proposes *Si tibi simplicitas, si uxori*, &c., thus, as in many other cases, substituting for the boldness of the original, something very tame and feeble of his own. Before *deditus* another *si* may be understood, although I greatly prefer to let this second clause stand by itself, "If you are distinguished by a feeble uxoriousness, your soul is given up to one person. Submit your head," &c. **209**: *amantis*, the loving husband. I am not fond of cuttings-out, on the strength of mere conjecture, or individual taste, but I very much suspect lines 209–211. At any rate, *amantis* at the end of one line following *amanti* at the end of the preceding, is not to be commended; and the lines seem to me badly put together. *spoliis*, cf. 233. The better a man is, the more reason for his not marrying, because he will be all the more surely hen-pecked. *A feminis utcumque spoliari viros, Ament, amentur, nempe exemplis discimus*, says Phaedrus ii 2. *Sola viro mulier spoliis exsultat ademptis*, Ov. Am. i 10 28. **214, 215**: *amicus jam senior.* So *amici jam senis*, viii 153, *barbam*, *i.e.*, when he was young, and before he had begun to shave his beard. See 105 above, and iii 186. **216**: *lanistis*, iii 158. **217**: *contingere* is generally used of a

fortunate event, and almost always so by our author, v 164, viii 28, &c. *arena* for the combatants in the arena. **219**: sqq. This must not be taken as an enormity of common occurrence, for though down to the time of Antoninus Pius, the Roman master had, by law, power of life and death over his slave, yet public opinion would, in most cases, prevent the power from being too glaringly abused. Horace says that a man who put his slave to death for a trifle, would be deemed insane. *Si quis eum servum patinam qui tollere jussus Semesos pisces tepidumque ligurierit jus In cruce suffigat, Labeone insanior inter Sanos dicatur*, Sat. i 3 80, sqq.; and Seneca tells us that cruel masters were condemned by public opinion, *domini crudeles tota civitate commonstrantur, invisique et detestabiles sunt.* De Clement. i 18. Lucian intimates that in his day it was unheard of, that slaves should be put to death for trifling offences, Prometh. 10. Crucifixion was the punishment peculiar to slaves. *Quid meritus es? Crucem*, Ter. And. iii 5 15, Hor. Sat. ii 7 47; Epp. i 16 48, Plaut. Aulul. i 1 20. *sumptum de eo supplicium servilem in modum*, *i.e.*, he was crucified, Tac. Hist. ii 72. So *crux* of a slave, Petron. 126. **219, 220**: compare x 69 70. *quo cecidit sub crimine? quisnam Delator? quibus indiciis, quo teste probavit? supplicium* is generally applied to punishment of a severe kind, and the French apply "supplice," its derivative, to capital punishment only. *audi*, "Listen!" (Evans); as though the husband were begging the wife to listen to the noble sentiment which he enunciates in the next verse, and which it is rather surprising that the commentators have not pronounced a monkish gloss; but it is better to take it "listen to what the slave has to say." "Hear him." *nulla . . . longa est.* So Seneca, to Nero, on a similar occasion, *nihil in propinquos temere constitui decet*, Oct. 440. **222**: *ita*, "so then!" ironically. The lady differs from Seneca, *servi sunt? imo homines*, Epp. 47. Florus speaks of slaves as *quasi secundum hominum genus*, iii 20. **223**: *Hoc volo, sic jubeo* seems more forcible than the other reading, *Sic volo*, and there is not unlikely a humorous reference to the *Velitis, jubeatis*, the formula of a *lex*.

224–230: Before long, she gets tired of lording it over her husband, and gets divorced and marries another. Then

she returns to her former home; and so she goes on, changing her husbands. **225**: *flammea conterit* is figurative. **226**: *vestigia* is, literally, the print she had left on the bed, *i.e.*, the place she had left empty by her flight. The word is used in this sense by Pliny in writing to his wife, *Scribis te absentia mea non mediocriter affici: unumque habere solatium, quod pro me libellos meos teneas, saepe etiam in vestigio meo colloces*, Epp. vi 7, where an old commentator renders *ea lecti parte qua alias ego cubare soleo praesens.* So Lucretia says, *Vestigia viri alieni Collatine in lecto sunt tuo*, Livy, i 58, the print of another man. And the deserted Ariadne in Ovid, *Et tua qua possum pro te vestigia tango, Strataque quae membris intepuere tuis*, Her. x. 53, 54. Indeed, the word is so exceedingly common in this sense that one wonders that any of the commentators should have missed the sense. *στίβος* is used similarly in Gr. This woman, in her fickleness, returns to her old home "before the mark of her form on the bed is effaced," "while her bed is still warm," as we say in the same figurative sense. Lines 227, 228 are very awkwardly placed; they would be better after 224, and though, in that case, *relinquit* would be at the end of one line, and *linquit* at the end of the next, the same objection applies to 208, 209. Here, I do not think the repetition would be objectionable. As they stand, 227 seems to refer to her way of going on in general, not to any one particular marriage, "She always runs away directly after the ceremony." **229, 230**: *Sic fiunt . . . sepulcri.* A thing worthy of being commemorated in her epitaph. Virtuous matrons prided themselves on having had but one husband, and the fact seems to have been sometimes actually recorded on their tomb-stones, if we are to trust an inscription given by Casaub. ad Trebell. Poll. XXX Tyrann. Tit. *Renatus Volusiae Justae matri carissimae sanctiori, univirae.* (Perhaps the books of inscriptions give other examples.) At any rate, it furnished the poets with a theme for praise in their imaginary epitaphs. See Mart. x 63, *Epitaphium nobilis matronae*, and Propert. iv 11 36, *In lapide huic uni nupta fuisse legar.* One of Martial's heroines marries and gets divorced, at a much quicker rate than the one in the text. *Julia lex populis ex quo, Faustine, renata est . . . Aut*

minus, aut certe non plus tricesima lux est Et nubit decimo jam Thelesina viro, vi 7, and *Inscripsit tumulo septem celebrata virorum Se fecisse Chloe: quid pote simplicius?* ix 16, where there is a *double-entente* in *se fecisse*—that she had put up the tomb, or done for her husbands. The expression is ironical. Seneca says that some noble ladies designated the years, not by the names of the consuls, but by those of their husbands for the time being, de Benef. iii 16.

231–241 : The mother-in-law, that never-failing butt for satirists, is introduced. No hope for you, while she is alive! She teaches her daughter to plunder and deceive you. **232** : *nudi*, "helpless," iv. 49, or "stripped of his all." **233** : *tabellis*, "the billets-doux." *blandae densaeque tabellae*, ix 36. *Cur toties video mitti recipique tabellas?* Ovid, Am. iii 14. 31. **234** : *rescribere*, 141. **234, 235** : *decipit custodes, aut aere domat*, below 347 348, *quis custodiet ipsos Custodes?* **235, 236** : This means, either (1) that the mother calls in Archigenes, the famous doctor, to her daughter, though she is quite well, and heaps a quantity of bed-clothes on the supposed patient, or (2) that the daughter calls in the doctor, and tosses off the bed-clothes as too oppressive for her pretended fever. The first rendering is the more simple, as it involves no change of subject. But Heinrich, who adopts the latter, thinks that a change of subject is indicated in *onerosa pallia jactat*, which is an expression proper to a sick or restless person, and he quotes Ov. Her. xxi 169, *At mihi, vae miserae! torrentur febribus artus, Et gravius justo pallia pondus habent*, and Propert. iv 3 31. So also Ov. Am. i 2 2, *neque in lecto pallia nostra sedent*. He might have added that the words *corpore sano*, standing by themselves, point somewhat in the same direction. The abrupt transition is in accordance with the poet's manner, and I incline to Heinrich's view. A similar change of persons occurs at x 320. *Archigenes* here, and *Heliodorus*, the surgeons below 373, are Greek names. It was from Greece that the leading doctors and surgeons came, iii 77. Pliny tells us that the Romans did not take kindly to the healing art, H. N. xxix 1. *Diaulus, Hyginus, Eros, Hermes*, &c., occur as names of doctors in Martial. See Friedländer, bk. iii. The mother first deceives

or bribes the servants, and then the daughter summons the physician. In any case, the meaning is that under pretence of the wife's illness, the husband is kept out of her room, and so the adulterer is let in. **237**: I do not see any difficulty in *secretus* (for which Heinrich reads *securus* on the strength of one MS.) following *abditus*. In Plin. Epp. ii 17 we find *tam alti abditique secreti . . . ratio*. The meaning is that the lover is hidden away and left to himself, i 95; and this explains the next line. Of course, during the visit of the doctor, the lover had to be concealed. **238**: *pavet*, "is all in a tremble of eagerness." In Hor. Sat. ii 7 69, *Quaeres quando iterum paveas, iterumque perire Possis, O toties servus; pavere*, might have this sense. So *pavor* and *pavidus* frequently in Virgil and Statius, &c. Silius has *laetus pavor*, xvi 432. *praeputia*, "foreskin." *praeputia ponunt*, "they are circumcised," xiv 99. What it is that the man is doing in his eagerness need not be more closely defined. **239, 240**: St. Ambrose has the same sentiment, *Quid enim poterat (filia) de adultera matre discere, nisi damnum pudoris?* Opp. 2. **241**: *producere* is here "to bring up," as in xiv 228, and in Plaut. Asin. iii 1 40, *audientem dicto mater produxisti filiam*, the meaning of which Mr. Long, who quotes the line on Cic. Verr. Act ii, Lib. 1, c. 12 (where, to be sure, *producere* has a different sense), has apparently mistaken. This sense of the word is common. It occurs in Cic. ad Quint. fr. ii 14. *cujus rei nonnullam consuetudinem nactus sum, in hoc horum dierum otio, Cicerone nostro minore producendo*, where, strangely, Ernesti says he cannot understand the passage, and Schütz proposes *perdocendo*: the sense of *prod.* being, evidently, as here *instituendo*. **242**: M. Boissier remarks that this is in absolute contradiction to ii 51. La Religion Romaine, vol. ii, p. 177. **242, 245**: Women dabble in lawsuits. *Manilia* may be the woman mentioned by Aul. Gell. iv 14. For *libellus*, cf. Dict. G. and R. Ant. It answers here somewhat to our "Declaration." *dictare*, a word proper to masters, who dictated to their scholars. *dictata magistri*, v 122. *Celso*. There were two jurists, father and son, named Juventius Celsus. Either will do here. They must not be confounded with Celsus the physician. These women

are prepared to dictate chapter and verse to the greatest lawyers.

246–267: Some women take to athletic exercises, adopt the accoutrement of gladiators, and go through all the manœuvres of the fencing school, &c., in private. **246**: *Endromidas*, iii 103, were thick cloaks, or wrappers, worn in winter, or when hot from running, &c. (whence the name). They would, consequently, be used in the palaestra, at games of ball, &c. *gelido non aspernanda Decembri Dona, peregrinam mittimus endromida Seu lentum ceroma teris tepidumve trigona Sive harpasta manu pulverulenta rapis*, Mart. iv 19. They appear to have been made in Gaul. Here the women wear a finer sort, of purple material. *ceroma*, iii 68. *Ne lutet immundum nitidos ceroma capillos*, Mart. xiv 50; and epigram quoted above. **248**: *cavat. parmam gladio, galeamque cavari Cernit*, Ov. Met. xii 130 131, "to be pierced," "transfixed;" or, perhaps, here "dints." Some would read *rudibus* here; but *sudibus* is right. *Miscebant usta proelia nuda sude*, Propert. iv 1 28. *scutoque lacessit*, "provokes with her shield," feigns to uncover herself to its blows, as if it were a flesh and blood adversary, challenges to the fight, *cursuque ictuque lacessunt*, Virg. Aen. vii 165, in the same sense. **249**: *numeros*. Cf. Plin. Epp. ix 38. Doering. **250**: The Floralia was a festival celebrated at Rome in honour of Flora, and lasting five days, from April 28 to May 2. A good deal of license was allowed at these games; the actresses, in some cases, appearing before the public in a state of nudity. Martial, in the preface to his first book of Epigrams, says, *Epigrammata illis scribuntur qui solent spectare Florales*, from which we may infer that it was the habit of many decent people to stay away. *Nosses jocosae dulce cum sacrum Florae Festosque lusus et licentiam vulgi Cur in theatrum Cato severe venisti?* Mart. i 1. *Quis Floralia vestit?* i 36, Pers. v 178 179. *dignissima Florali tuba* may be either "worthy of blowing a trumpet at the Floralia," or, "worthy to dance among the prostitutes at the Floralia, to the sound of the trumpet." The *tuba*, i 169, was employed for signals of every description, not only in war, but at the games and public festivals, x 214. *Canteturque fera nil nisi pompa tuba*, Ov. Fast. i 716. **250, 251**:

Unless, indeed,—as may be the case,—she is preparing herself for real, and not simulated, combats. Women, as we have seen, i 22, did sometimes descend into the arena. **253**: *vires amat.* So above, 112, *ferrum est quod amant.* *vires* is used for strong men in xv 104. Here it seems to mean masculine strength. **254**: *quantula nostra voluptas.* How small is our pleasure (in comparison with theirs)! This does not need more particular explanation. **255**: It is better to take *rerum* with *conjugis*, not with *decus*, as Heinrich prefers. *Quale decus rerum*, and *conjugis auctio* would be, to say the least, not usual expressions; whereas *quale decus* and *rerum conjugis auctio* offer no difficulties, and the sense is much improved. **257, 258**: *vel . . . puella.* There is some difficulty in this passage, in consequence of our not possessing precise information as to the different kinds of armour worn by the Roman gladiators. Heinrich says, "*ocreas*, which the Samnites did not wear, but all the other kinds of gladiators did." But this is certainly wrong, for the Samnites did wear *ocreae*. See the engravings in Dict. G. and R. Ant., article "Gladiatores." Moreover, the Samnites were so called from their being armed in the same way as that people, and in Livy, ix 40, we read expressly of them, *sinistrum crus ocrea tectum.* On the other hand, the *retiarius*, from the very nature of his mode of fighting, certainly wore no greaves; no more, probably, did the *secutor* or the Thracian (see the above-mentioned engravings). I take the meaning, therefore, to be, "or, if your wife takes to another mode of fighting, and adopts the accoutrements of a light-armed gladiator, what a happiness to you to see her sell her greaves!" The whole passage is highly satirical. Macleane thinks there is no point in this, but I think there is. He supposes the meaning to be, "When she gives up her follies in the arena, and goes back to her wantonness." **258**: *puella*, "young wife," ii 59 note. **260**: *Femineum lucet sic per bombycina corpus*, Mart. viii 68 7. *tenuia bombycina*, xiv 24; "silk." See Dict. G. and R. Ant. "Sericum." *cyclas* was a circular robe with a gold border, perhaps made of muslin. **261**: *monstratos perferat ictus*, compare v 122, *peragat dictata magistri.* **262, 263**: *quanta poplitibus sedeat* is translated by Gifford,

"how firm she rests, poised on her hams," and *quam denso fascia libro*, "how close tucked up for fight, behind, before," and this is the common rendering. The one I have given, which Heinrich adopts from Manso, is I think preferable. *Fascia fasciola*, is a common name for the stockings women wore, and sometimes men, Hor. Sat. ii 3 255. Quint. Inst. Or. xi 3, Petron. 40. Here the woman who indulges in manly exercises, is represented as having hers made of bark. This will be better understood by referring to the engraving under "Libra" (a balance) in Dict. G. and R. Ant., where two figures are shown with them. **264**: *scaphium*, Mart. xi 11. There is an allusion here, I think, to the different position which women assume, when using this homely utensil, to that adopted by men. You may well laugh, he says, to see the female gladiator throw aside her arms and use her *scaphium* like a man (*or* sit down upon it, which would be equally ludicrous). Some suppose *scaphium* to have been peculiar to women, and *lasanum* to men, but there is no authority for this. The point as given above is much stronger and more natural. **265**: *Lepidi.* Probably M. Aemilius Lepidus, censor, twice consul and pontifex maximus, is meant. *Metelli*, iii 137 138 note. *Fabius Gurges*, so called from his dissipation in youth, became an eminent man and was twice consul. *ludia*, a gladiator's wife or woman, 104. *quando ad palum gemat uxor Asyli* is an amplification of the words which precede. *gemere* is often merely to give forth a sound, *gemuit parvo mota fenestra sono*, Ov. Epp. Pont. iii 3 10; here to utter such a sound as would come from a person in the midst of great exertion, to "groan," "grunt." *Asylus*, some noted gladiator, of whom nothing is now known.

268–285: a graphic sketch of a curtain-lecture. The wife abuses her husband for his supposed faithlessness; and yet this very woman's desk is full of billets-doux! If she were caught in the act with one of her lovers she would brazen it out. She would swear she had a right to do as she liked, and that that was the understood arrangement between them. **271**: sqq. Compare Ter. Eun. i 1 22–25. *pueros*, "the boy-slaves," *i. q.*, *pusiones*, 34 35 above. *pellice*, ii 57 note. *in uxorem gravissimum esse genus injuriae, pellicem*, Sen.

Epp. 95. **274**: *exspectantibus illam*, "awaiting her signal." There is no necessity for supposing *illam* to be put for *illa*. Compare Ov. Her. ii 51. *Credidimus lacrymis; an et hae simulare docentur? Hae quoque habent artes, quaque jubentur eunt?* and *lacrimae pressura palpebrarum coactae*, Appul. Met. v 99. **276**: what *curruca* means can only be conjectured. One scholium says, it is the name of a bird which hatches the cuckoo's eggs instead of its own; which would be a term very applicable to a husband who was bringing up, as his own, children by another man. *per contra*, Varro speaks of the cuckoo invading other birds' nests. Some MSS. read *Uruca*, "stupidi mimologi nomen," according to the scholiast. Heinrich's note should be consulted. *sibi placere* is to be satisfied with one's self. *Ego numquam mihi minus quam hesterno die placui*, Cic. de Or. ii 4; "you are radiant," so, *sibi displicere* to feel out of sorts, Cic. Phil. i 5. **277**: *tabellas*, "billets-doux," "love letters," 233; and Hor. Epod. 12 1 2. *Munera cur mihi, quidve tabellas Mittis? Furtimque tabellas Occulto portans, itque reditque sinu*, Tibull. ii 6 45. **278**: *zelotypae*, v 45, viii 197. *scrinia*, "book-box," "a writing-case," "desk." Hence the French "écrin." *prius orto Sole vigil, calamum et chartas et scrinia posco*, Hor. Epp. ii 1 113. Martial says of his book to the reader, *Scrinia da magnis, me manus una capit*, i 3; from which it would seem that these cases would sometimes hold a great deal. **279, 280**: A man was allowed to kill his wife if he caught her in this situation—at any rate before the Lex Julia. Aul. Gell. x 23. *dic, dic.* ii 135 136. *colorem*, vii 155, note. Even Quintilian himself, the prince of rhetoricians, if he were called in, could invent no subtlety for her defence. **281**: *Haeremus*, "we are at a complete loss." So *haereo* is used, by itself, in Ter. Eun. v 2 9. *Sed estne haec Thais quam video? ipsa'st. Haereo. Quid faciam?* (though some read *haereo quid faciam.*) For the plural, i 15 note. *indulgere mihi*, "follow my own inclinations." **283**: *mare coelo confundas*, ii 25. **284**: *homo sum. Nemo, inquit, non nostrum peccat: homines sumus non Dei*, Petron. 75. **285**: *deprensis*, "caught in the act," 640. *O juvenes, deprendere parcite vestras . . . Crescit amor prensis*, Ov. A. A. ii 557–9. So, *deprehensa adultera*, Quint. *iram . . . sumunt*

is like *Fortem animum praestant rebus quas turpiter audent*, 97. *animos* is here "impetus," as in i, *alea quando Hos animos?* *Parce tuis animis vita nocere tibi*, Propert. ii 5 18, "by your impetuosity."

286–345: What has brought all these abominations upon us? Foreign luxury and the increase of wealth. Then follow sketches of some of the nocturnal orgies, indulged in by Roman ladies of high rank. **286**: *tamen* might be taken with *unde*. "Whence, ever?" "Whence, after all?" *Quippe, ubi nec causas, nec apertos cernimus ictus Unde tamen veniant tot mala caeca via est*, Propert. ii 4. **289 290**: *vellere manus*. "The distaff was to women what the plough was to men." Mommsen Bk. i ch. 5, and cf. the epitaphs which he quotes. *Domum servavit Optima lanifica pia*, &c. The great ladies no longer spun in Juv.'s time. **294**: *ex quo (tempore)* "from the time that." The words are always used by Juvenal in this sense, i 81, x 77, *ex quo suffragia nulli vendimus*. xiv 261. See note to first-named passage. **295**: *paupertas Romana perit*, *i.e.*, since the general condition of the Romans had ceased to be one of poverty. **296**: *petulans madidumque*. *ebrius ac petulans*, iii 278. *ebrietatis temeritas ac petulantia*, Sen. de Ira. iii 14. *Tarentum* is also called *unctum*, *molle*, *imbelle*, &c., by the poets. **297**: *pet.* 'saucy,' *hominem petulantem modestum reddo*, Cic. ad Att. ii 1. **301**: *Mediumque mavult basiare quam summum*, Mart. xi 61 5. This explains 51. *libido . . . ne capiti quidem parcit*, Lact. V. C. vi. **304, 305**: *vertigine tectum Ambulat*. *summus vertitur aer*, 99. *vertiginem capitis, tecta ipsa mobilia, velut aliquo turbine circumagente totam domum*, as Seneca describes the effects of drunkenness, Epp. 83; and he gives an equally bad account of women, *Non minus pervigilant, non minus potant, et oleo et mero viros provocant*, Epp. 95. **305**: *accessit fervor capiti numerusque lucernis*, Hor. Sat. ii 1 25. *jam lucernae mihi plures videbantur ardere*, Petron. 64. **306**: *I nunc*, a derisive expression, "go now," "go then." *I nunc, et versus tecum meditare canoros*, Hor. Epp. ii 2 76; *I nunc, tolle animos et tecum finge triumphos*, Propert. iii 18 17; and again, in our author, x 310, xii 57. So, *I* simply in x 166, *I, demens*. Seneca has *eat nunc* at the beginning of Consol. ad Polyl.

ἀλ ἴδῃ, Homer, Il. γ. 432. Mart. has *I nunc et dubita* as here, viii 63 3. **306–308**: These women exchange impious sneers and jeers, when they pass the altar of Chastity. Cf. Propert. ii 6 25 26. **309**: *micturiunt hic*, a dreadful profanation, i 131. **311**: *Inque vices equitant*, an obscene meaning, Hor. Sat. ii 7 50. Mart. xi 104 14; Ov. A. Am. iii 778. *luna teste moventur*. Compare viii 149, *sed luna videt, sed sidera testes Intendunt oculos*. Catull. 7 7 8. **314**: We have had *Bona Dea* spoken of in ii 86, sqq., note. *cum tibia lumbos Incitat. incitante tibiae cantu lymphaticum tripudium*, App. Met. viii 172. *Cum carmina lumbum Intrant*, Pers. **315**: *cornu* is the pipe or flageolet (*tibia*); see ii 90, note. **315, 316**: *feruntur attonitae;* so *feruntur praecipites*, 648 649. *Priapum.* Other readings are *Priapi* and *Priapo*. *Priapum* is better than the other two, and we shall do no injustice to Juvenal by adopting it. **318**: *vox* alludes to the tone of the voice under the influence of passion, ii 111 112. **321**: has an obscene sense, cf. Appul. Met. ii 32, *pendulae Veneris fructu me satiavit*, where some read *fluctu* wrongly: see next note. **322**: *fluctum.* Compare Lucret. iv 1271; and Appul. Met. ii 25, *lumbis sensim vibrantibus . . . decenter undabat;* and Arnob. adv. gent. 2 73, *lumborum crispitudine fluctuare.* **323**: satirical. There is no *majorum respectus* there, *virtus* alone is regarded. The woman who carries off the palm in these filthy games enjoys the most consideration. This line is, of course, rejected by some commentators. **325, 326**: Compare Mart. xi 60. *Phlogis . . . Ulcus habet Priami quod tendere possit alutam Quodque senem Pylium non sinat esse senem*, and cf. Mart. vi 71 3, xiv 203, Ov. Am. iii 7 41. *Nestoris hernia* is like *virtus Scipiadae*, &c., in Horace; see iv 39, note. **328**: *ac* is the reading of P. *it* and *et* are other readings. *it* has been put in by copyists, who did not see that the omission of the verb is quite in Juvenal's manner. *Pullati proceres, differt vadimonia praetor*, iii 212. *qua capta juventa*, vi 103. **329**: *jam dormit*, if he is asleep by this time, because it is so late; not, "if he is not yet up." **330**: *cucullo.* 118, note. **331**: *si nihil est*, &c. *Horum si nihil est aviam resupinat amici*, ii 112. Horace uses *impetus fieri in* (*ancillam*), Sat. i 2 117,

in the same sense as *incurritur* here. **332**: *venit*, "is brought upon the scene." *aquarius*. In the last resort, they will hire a water-carrier. These persons were much looked down upon. They appear to have been generally slaves. The *servi* above are domestic slaves in the house where these orgies are supposed to take place. Failing these, they send out for the first person that can be got. **333, 334**: *mora nulla . . . quo minus*. Compare xii 111 112. **335**: *atque utinam*, compare iv 150. **337**: *noverunt Mauri atque Indi*, "all the world knows." Cic. says of the same transaction, *quod omnes non modo homines verum etiam pecudes factum esse sciant*, ad Att. i 16. *psaltria* is Clodius, who introduced himself into the ceremonies of Bona Dea, to which only women were admitted, on an occasion when they were celebrated at the house of Julius Caesar, disguised as a female musician, Seuton. J. Caes. 6. It was a matter of notoriety, for Clodius was tried for it. **338**: *Anticatones*. Cicero wrote a panegyric on Cato of Utica, which was answered by Julius Caesar, in two books of Anticatones. The form of a Roman book, which was usually that of a roll of paper or parchment, with us (see Dict. G. and R. Ant., engraving under "Liber"), will explain the allusion here. Clodius was the lover of Caesar's wife, Pompeia. Suetonius mentions this work of Caesar's, J. Caes. 56; and Cicero speaks of it as very abusive, ad Att. xii 41; but yet justice seems to have been done, perhaps involuntarily, to the character of Cato. Plin. Epp. iii 12, *quem tamen (Catonem) C. Caesar ita reprehendit, ut laudet*, &c. **340, 341**: Juvenal seems here to imitate Seneca, who, in speaking of this very Clodius, says, *violatis religionibus ejus sacrificii, quod pro populo fieri dicitur, sic submotis extra conspectum omnibus viris ut picturae quoque masculorum animalium contegantur*, Epp. 97. *alterius sexus* is, of course, the male sex. **342**: *tunc* must refer to the days of Clodius; and yet people had not reached such a pitch of impiety and profanity as they have now. **343**: *simpuvium*, a small cup of earthenware, out of which libations of wine were offered to the gods. A figure of one is given in Dict. G. and R. Ant., under "Simpulum, or Simpuvium," from which it would appear to have somewhat resembled in form our earthenware

punch-ladles. *Numae, i.e.*, of the old primitive worship. Long after Juvenal's time, we have the object spoken of as typical of all that was sacred in paganism. *Quicquid Quiritum sueverat Orare simpuvium Numae, Christi frequentans atria*, &c., Prudent. Perist. ii 513. *nigrum catinum*, a coarse dish, made of dark, common clay. **344**: *Vaticano.* The second syllable is short in Hor. Od. i 20 7, and long, as here, in Mart. i 19 2. The neighbourhood of the Vatican supplied the clay of which these rude objects used in primitive worship, were formed. It is still used for a similar purpose. **345**: *sed . . . aras.* Seneca says, *Omne tempus Clodios, non omne Catones feret*, Epp. 97. Clodius had become proverbial; and his name has been used before, by our author, in this sense, ii 27. *ad quas non Clodius aras* resembles *quo non prostat femina templo* ix 24. **346**: I hear what you, my old friends, have long since been wanting to give me as your advice. For *olim*, with the present tense, see iv 96, note. **346, 347**: *Pone seram.* Either "Put up a lock on your front-door," or "Put a lock on her room-door." Most probably the former. Cf. Rich. ad voc. In any case, "Keep her under lock and key," as we say. *sed quis custodiet . . . custodes? Nullus in urbe fuit tota qui tangere vellet uxorem gratis Caeciliane tuam Dum licuit, sed nunc, positis custodibus, ingens Turba fututorum est; ingeniosus homo es*, Mart. i 74, and compare Tibull. ii 4 33, *Sed pretium si grande feras, custodia victa est, Nec prohibent claves, et canis ipse tacet.* No more amusing illustration of the query can be found than that related in Mart. vi 72. **350**: *silicem*, "the lava pavement," iii 272. **351**: compare iii 240, *ingenti curret super ora Liburno. longorum. longus* for "tall" is very rare, x 223, Catull. 67 47 and 86 1, in both of which places there is, as here, a dash of contempt, like our "long." Ovid calls Andromache *longissima* in a jocular tone, A. A. iii 777. At a later period *long.* is commonly used for "tall." Capit. Max. et Bal. 9, &c.

352–365: He now comes to the extravagant woman, who squanders the remains of her paternal property in order to make an appearance in public. Lucretius has some very graphic passages on the extravagance of women, iv 1122, sqq.

The last two hundred verses of that book (iv) have been compared with our author by Mr. Munro. "They display a satirical vein as powerful and much more subtle than that of Juvenal," Lucret. vol. ii p. 98. **352**: *Ut spectet ludos.* On the fondness of the Romans for shows, cf. 87 above, iii 223, x 81, xi 52 53, &c. *Ogulnia.* There was an Ogulnia gens, plebeian, but mixed up in some historical events. **354**: *flavam*, 120 note. The *nutrix* must be a sort of duenna, as in Seneca's comedies. **355**: *tamen*, yet, though she has to hire everything in order to make a figure abroad, she is making away with the last relics of her patrimony. *argenti* "plate" i 76. **356**: *Levibus athletis.* The meaning is very doubtful. It may have the same sense as *mollis*, and *athletae* may bear an indecent sense. But the woman is fond of the shows, and however we take *levibus*, it seems better to understand *athletis* literally; perhaps "spruce athletes," or "young athletes who were not yet bearded," like *sponsus levis adhuc.* iii 111. *novissima*, "the last of her vessels," *novissimus annulus*, xi 42; literally "newest," and hence "last." Varro says this was a new use of the word, and one to be avoided, *Quod extremum dicebatur, dici novissimum coeptum vulgo, quod mea memoria ut Aelius, sic senes alii, quod nimium novum verbum esset, vitabant*, quoted by Aul. Gell. x 21, who (as has often been pointed out) is wrong in saying that Cicero never used it. It is used also by Catullus, Caesar, Sallust, C. Nepos, Virgil, Ovid, &c. **357**: *res angusta domi* has occurred before, iii 165. *angusta pauperies*, Hor. Od. iii 2. **357, 358**: *pudorem paupertatis.* Horace has *paupertatis pudor et fuga*, Epp. i 18 24. There the words are applied to a man who has a dread of appearing as poor as he is, *i.e.*, in a bad sense. Here the words are used in a good sense. **361**: The old legend, Virg. i 186, &c. **364**: *Utar et ex medico quantum res poscet acervo Tollam*, Hor. Epp. ii 2 190. These women think they have got a Fortunatus's purse. *exhausta arca* is an abl. abs. That her money should sprout *from* the chest, the usual construction would be *ab arca*, but the rendering in the translation is in accordance with the English idiom. **365**: *reputant* (not *reputat*) is the best reading. There is no difficulty about the plural, iii 113, vi 464, and cf. xiii 106 107.

Several examples of this use of the plural after the singular occur in Virgil, and are referred to in the *Saturday Review*, April 8, 1871, in the course of a notice of the Public School Latin Grammar: *Undique visendi studio Trojana juventus Circumfusa ruit certantque illudere capto*, Aen. ii 63, we might say, "The Trojan youth surrounds him and they (these young people) jeer the captive;" and the Latin idiom seems to resemble ours. The reviewer adds—"Is it not quite evident that the use of the singular verb is to indicate the simultaneous movement of a large mass, and that of the plural to represent the multitude as severed into groups?" It may be so in that particular instance, as also in Aen. iv 86, sqq., but, in fact, this use of the plural after the singular is extremely common, where no such refinement can be intended. *ex. gr.*, Caes. de Bell. Gall. iii 22, and it is constantly found in Seneca, and indeed in most Roman authors. The meaning here is simply, "These women never consider," &c.

366–378: We must hope that, in this passage, in which Juvenal speaks of the castration of adult male slaves by their mistresses, he has in view some isolated examples, which may have come to his knowledge, of so frightful a practice. I believe this was often the case with our poet, and that being in search of vices to lash, he took especial care to select the very worst specimens that were to be picked up. We must not, therefore, suppose such a practice to have been anything but extremely rare, even in that day; though the fact of its having been possible, gives a frightful idea of the times. *mollia semper oscula*, "kisses which can never be other than effeminate." **366**: Mart. vi 67, x 91. Domitian prohibited the castration of males. Mart. vi 2, ix 7; Suet. Dom. 7; Stat. Silv. iii 4 73, sqq., iv 3 13, sqq., and so did Nerva, according to Dio. lxviii 2. ἐνομοθέτησε δὲ ἄλλα τε καὶ περὶ τοῦ μὴ εὐνουχίζεσθαι τινα. The early fathers, Jerome, Tertullian, &c., are outspoken in condemnation of the practice, and witnesses to its existence. The males spoken of there are, however, generally infants. **371**: *spectatos*, "tried," "proved," "examined," not merely "looked at." Forcellini gives examples, *fulvum spectatur in ignibus aurum*, Ov. Trist. i 5 25; *Non, hercle, cui nunc hoc (argentum) dem spectandum scio*, Plaut.

Pers. iii 3 36. Lucret. iii 55. So, *spectatus, spectatissimus, vir*, Cic. &c., a tried, proved man. **373**: *tonsoris damno tantum*, "to the loss of the barber," as his beard would not grow. *Heliodorus* is any surgeon. **374**: Cf. Mart. i 24, iii 3, xi 47, iii 51, vii 35, iii 72, xi 75, from the four last of which passages it will appear that there were baths at Rome for the two sexes in common; and this is expressly stated by Plin. H.N. xxxiii 12, but the reference here is to any baths. **375**: *custodem vitis et horti*, sc. Priapum, Mart. i 36 15, iii 68 9. He was represented with large genitals, Hor. Sat. i 8 5; and what was left to eunuchs was supposed to grow very large. This gives the meaning of *provocat*. **376**: *dormiat, domina*. Mart. vi 67. **378**: *Tondendum*. The locks of these favourite boys were allowed to grow long, like those of girls, till they had attained the age of puberty, when the hair was cut short. It is to this that Horace alludes, Od. iv 10, *Insperata tuae cum veniet pluma superbiae Et quae nunc humeris involitant deciderint comae. Tondebit pueros jam nova nupta tuos*, Mart. xi 78, xii 18 24. So *acersecomes*, a favourite youth with unshorn locks, Juv. viii 128. *Bromium*. The poet calls the still unshorn youth by the name of Bacchus (Bromius), in consequence of that god being represented as a youth with long hair. *sic denique non sint Tam longae Bromio quam tibi Phoebe comae*, Mart. iv 45. So a handsome youth comes in at Trimalchio's banquet *modo Bromium, interdum Lyaeum, Eviumque confessus*, all three names of Bacchus, Petron. 41, Ov. Met. iv 11. *Bromia* is the name of a handmaid in Plaut. Amphitryon. **378**: *committere eunucho Bromium*, "Don't entrust Bromius to the eunuch, nam hunc (Bromium) certe diffindet et disrumpet enormitate membri sui" (Heinrich). I think now that this must be the meaning, though I thought formerly that the sense was "Do not match Bromius against the eunuch." But in that case *cum* would be required. *commit. Brom. cum eunuch tondendum* refers to the cutting short the hair of these favourite slaves when they came to men's estate, as mentioned above. Orell. This a young bride would be likely to have done at once, reducing these *delicati* to the ranks, so to speak. Add to the passages there cited Catull. 61 138. There is great humour in

thus addressing *Postumus* directly, as though his own intended were likely to come into the category of the ladies here described.

379-398: Next comes the woman who dotes on music and musicians. No artist can withstand her advances. She is constantly to be seen with an instrument belonging to the loved one in her hands. Some great ladies have gone so far as to sacrifice to the gods on behalf of their favourites. **379**: *cantus* is not necessarily vocal music. It is applied to all kinds of music, *cantus tibiae, citharae*, &c.; but it may be rendered by "singing" here, since the lyre seems never to have been played, except as an accompaniment to song—something like our guitar. *fibula*, above 73. The process of infibulation is described by Celsus, and alluded to by Pliny, H. N. xxxiii 12. Rings of silver, &c., were passed through the prepuce. No *fibulae* are of any avail against the ladies who are given to musicians. **380**: *vocem vendentis praetoribus.* So viii 192, *sua funera vendere, i.e.*, to become a gladiator (if that reading be adopted), as here, to be a musician. The praetors presided over public games and theatrical representations, as the aediles had done under the Republic; x 36, xi 195 **381**: *densi . . . sardonyches.* This must mean that her numerous rings sparkle as she plays. *testudo*, common, for the lyre. *pecten*, "a small staff," apparently the same as the *plectrum*, with which the strings were sometimes struck; at other times they were played with the fingers. This instrument is shown in an engraving of the Dict. G. and R. Ant., article "Mensa." It seems to have been made of ivory, Virg. Aen. vi 647. *numerantur.* Jahn has *pulsantur;* but almost without any MS. authority, and it is far feebler. The meaning is, "are run over," *lit.* counted: not as some have it, that "numbers are brought from the chords by the striking of the *pecten*." **383**: *Hedymeles*, a fancy name from ἡδὺ and μέλος. **385**: *Lamiarum*, iv 154, note. *quaedam de numero Lamiarum*, "one of the highest aristocracy." **386**: *rogabat.* She was in the habit of doing it. *Janum Vestamque, i.e*, All the gods from Janus to Vesta. *Cumque in omnibus rebus vim haberent maximam prima et extrema, principem in sacrificando Janum esse voluerunt . . . in ea dea (Vesta) quae est rerum custos intimarum*

omnis et precatio et sacrificatio extrema est, Cic. de Nat. Deor. ii 27; Ov. Fast. i 171 2. **387**: *Capitolinam quercum.* The oak-crown, awarded to a victor at the Capitoline games, which were revived by Domitian in the shape of a quinquennial contest, at which various prizes were offered: among others one for music, Suet. Domit. 4; Mart. iv 54, ix 4. *Pollio*, a celebrated musician, is mentioned again, vii 176; Mart. iv 61 9.

390: sqq. She veiled her head, according to the general custom in sacrifices (*Romano ritu sacrificium cum faciunt capita velant*, says Varro. Cf. Vir. Aen. iii 405 599), and repeated the formula dictated by the priests. The Greeks prayed *aperto capite*, and so did the Romans in the case of some gods. Macrob. Sat. i 10. *cithara*, the harp for the harper. *accedes opera agro nona Sabino*, Hor., the ninth labourer. *varicosus*, he will get varicose veins in his legs, from having to stand so long. *perferre* is here to "repeat." *Mandata Clementi centurioni quae perferret*, Tac. Ann. i 26. *pertulit patris mandata*, ib. 57.

398–412: Still worse is the masculine woman, who delights in the society of men, and runs about the town, retailing all sorts of gossip, true and false. **400**: *paludatis*, cf. Dict. G. and R. Ant. "Paludamentum." Generals would be in this attire in the city, only when setting out after receiving the Imperium. This woman button-holes military leaders, even on important occasions—an exaggeration, probably. **401**: *strictis*, "drawn" like a sword, "unsheathed." A term which is suitable to this woman, who runs after generals. In *recta*, there is perhaps an allusion to the upright habit of body of a soldier, "well set up," as we say. **402**: Martial has an epigram to the same purport, on a man he calls Philomusus; *Scis quid in Arsacia Pacorus deliberet aula Rhenanam numeras Sarmaticamque manum Verba ducis Daci chartis mandata resignas Victricem laurum quam venit ante vides Scis quoties Phario madeat Jove fusca Syene Scis quota de Libyco littore puppis eat*, &c., ix 36. **403**: *quid Seres . . . agant. quid agant venti*, i 9. **404**: *quis amet. Qui scit quam quis amet, qui per convivia currit.* Mart. iii 63. *diripiatur.* Achaintre and others read *decipiatur*, with a very inferior sense. *diri-*

pere, "to pull to pieces," "to struggle for the possession of," is very common. Thus, the author of the so-called "Suetonius's Life of Persius," *Editum librum continuo mirari homines et diripere coeperunt.* **406**: *concumbat*, 191. *modis quot*, Ov. Am. ii 8 28. **407**: sqq. Trajan made war on the Armenians and Parthians, and about this time the great earthquake of Antioch took place, which may be alluded to in *nutare urbes*, etc. But it is probable that the reference is general. *terraene dehiscent Subsidentque urbes?* Lucan. i 645 646. This woman is full of all sorts of horrors: after the fashion of her kind, if need be, she invents them. *Niphates* is properly a mountain range in Armenia; and so Strabo mentions it. Here it is taken for a river (and similarly by Luc. iii 245, Sil. xiii. 765, Claudian de Tert. Cons. Hon. 72). In Virg. Georg. iii 30, and Hor. Od. ii 9 20, the reference is doubtful. Orellius has a long and learned note on the subject of the last-named passage of Horace.

413–433: Another horrible nuisance; the virago, who if her slumber be broken by the barking of a poor neighbour's dog, has the man beaten. She makes such a fuss going to the bath at night with her attendants and bathing-utensils, that one would think it was a camp in motion. After using the dumb-bells, and being shampooed by a man, she returns to her guests, who have been waiting supper for her, and swallows a quantity of wine, and vomits it again, to get up an appetite. A sickening sight. **413**: *vitium*, the thing for the person. At ii 34, we had the word in the same sense, *vitia ultima*, "the worst of men." This plague is not worse than she who (*quae*), &c. *Facinus, malum, scelus*, &c., are similarly used, see note on iv 84. **414**: *rapere et concidere solet*, "she causes them to be beaten," as below. *occidit*, iii 116; *occidunt*, iii 37; *jugulos aperire*, iv 110. *exorata*, though urgently entreated; a common use of the past participle, *numquamne reponam Vexatus toties*, i 1 2. *latratibus.* This would be likely to happen at Rome, where, from a number of passages, we should gather that house-dogs were much more common than in London. Ovid, speaking of night settling on the town, says, *Jamque quiescebant voces hominumque canumque*, Trist. i 3 27. So Sen. and Petron. speak of the *catenarius*

canis, De Ira. iii 37, and Petron. 72, and M. Senec., of *canis ad ostium alligatus*, Controv. 30; Tibull. ii 4 32 34; and often elsewhere. The rich, indeed, seem generally to have kept a dog chained up in the ostium, or janua. Hence, the warning, "Cave canem," in Petron., and to be seen at Pompeii. Probably the humbler classes also kept them. This poor man perhaps rents one of the *tabernae*, or shops, attached to the great house, and besides barring his shutters (iii 304) keeps a dog for greater security. The poet has told us at iii 235 that *magnis opibus dormitur in urbe*, and here is an illustration of the truth of this. Caligula, according to Sueton., when disturbed by people taking their places in the circus at night, called for cudgels, like the lady here; *fustibus abegit*, Calig. 26. **415**: *exorata*, might mean "is prevailed upon *only* to beat them." **419**: *conchas*, 304. Jars for oils and perfumes. It seems to have been usual for rich people to go to the baths with a great retinue. So, in the next satire, one who wants to pass for rich *vexat lutulenta balnea turba*, vii 131; and we read in Lucian of ἐν τοῖς βαλανείοις τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἑπομένων, Nigrinus 34. **420**: *nocte*. It would seem from this that, in Juvenal's day, some at least of the public baths were open at night. In later times the usage, on this head, appears to have varied. Lamprid. Alex. Sev. 24. Vopisc. Tac. 10. **421**: *gravi massa*. These were probably *halteres*, leaden weights, corresponding very nearly to our "dumb-bells." *Graves . . . halteras facili rotat lacerto* (of a woman), Mart. vii 67 5, and xiv 49, Sen. Epp. 56. The first-named epigram bears a close resemblance, in parts, to this passage. **422, 423**: *cristae* has the same sense as *pecten* in 370. *aliptes*, she takes her own anointer with her. She has been accompanied by a great retinue, 419 420. Hence *dominae* is "his mistress." With 423 compare Mart. vii 67. *Uncti verbere vapulat magistri*, and iii 82 13 14. *Percurrit agili corpus arte tractatrix Manumque doctam spargit omnibus membris*, and Seneca, Epp. 56, says of the *aliptes*; *audio crepitum illisae manus humeris, quae, prout plana pervenit aut concava, ita sonum mutat*, and again, *alium pro se clamare cogit*. **424**: We must suppose that some people have been invited to supper; humble dependants, probably of the same kind as Trebius, in Sat. v.

425, 426 : Compare again Mart. vii 67 9 10, *Nec coenat prius aut recumbit ante Quam septem vomit meros deunces.* **426** : *Oenophorum*, vii 11. It is described in Dict. G. and R. Ant., as a "wine-basket," something like our hamper. Here, as in Mart. vi 89, it is a vessel for holding wine, which is filled to the brim—"stretched," as it were; compare v 80, *distendit pectore lancem*—by a whole *urna*. *urna* is here a measure, half an amphora, two to three gallons English. So *scyphos urnales*, Petron. 52, which hold an urna. **427** : *admot. ped. Misto lagaenam replet ad pedes vino.* Mart. vii 20 19. **428** : *ducitur*, "is tossed off." *pocula duces sub umbra, ducere nectaris succos*, Horace. *multo duxisti pocula risu*, Propert. ii 9 21. **428, 429** : This habit of the Romans is well known. *vomitiones tunc supra modum frequentes damnavit (Asclepiades)*, says Pliny H. N. xxvi 3. So that the practice had long before his time been introduced. Seneca, in several places, alludes to and condemns it. Women he says, *aeque, i.e.*, equally with men, *invitis ingesta visceribus per os reddunt, et vinum omne vomitu remetiuntur*, Epp. 95. *jejuni vomitores*, Epp. 88; and Mart. quoted above. The beastly Vitellius was an adept at this practice, Suet. Vitell. 13. The favourite time for it seems to have been just after the bath, as here. οἱ ἀπὸ βαλανείου καθάρσεως ἕνεκα τοῦ στομάχου πίνοντες ἄμυστιν ἀποβλύζουσιν, Athen. Deipn. xv 2, those who, after the bath, clean out their stomachs by large draughts of wine, which they afterwards spurt out;—though how drinking wine to such excess as to provoke vomiting, just before dinner, could have promoted appetite, I do not know. **430** : *marmoribus*, i 12, note *aurata*. Another reading is *aut lata*. There is not much choice between the two. **431** : *sic tamquam*, iii 308, note.

434–456 : Literary ladies are still more objectionable; they jabber about poetry, so that no one can get in a word; they reprehend their husbands for every slip in grammar. These terribly clever women ought to renounce their sex altogether and come out as men. **434** : *gravior*, "more dreadful," a still more awful woman. **436** : *committit*, "pairs off;" compare i 163, *Et sua cum antiquae committit scripta Corrinnae*, Propert. ii 3 21. Virgil would naturally

be compared with his great model, Homer. Juvenal compares them on his own account at xi 180 181; and thinks the palm doubtful, Stat. Silv. v 3 62 63; Quintil x. 1. He gives numerous indications in his satires of his familiarity with Virgil. *Elissae* is Dido. The lady pities and extends her forgiveness to poor Dido before her death. Mr. Evans renders "excuses the suicide of Dido," *i.e.*, forgives her for making away with herself; and the Latin will bear this sense, though I prefer the former. **439**: Not even a lawyer or a crier could make himself heard; no, nor even another woman. **442, 443**: When the moon was eclipsed, it was supposed that magicians and witches were endeavouring to bring her down from heaven to aid them in their enchantments, and that she could be relieved from her sufferings by loud noises, beating of brass, sounding of trumpets, &c., to drown the voices of the enchanters, Manil. i 227. *aera auxiliaria Lunae*, Ovid. *Cantus et e curru lunam deducere tentat, Et faceret si non aera repulsa sonent*, Tibull. i 8 21 22; Tac. Ann. i 28; Sen. Nat. Quaest. vii 1, &c. St. Ambrose alludes to this superstition, *Quod cum requirerem quid sibi clamor hic velit, dixerunt mihi quod laboranti Lunae vestra vociferatio subveniret et defectum ejus suis clamoribus subveniret.* The people of Turin used to greet eclipses with loud cries, for which St. Maximus of Turin rebuked them. Similar practices are still adopted by savages in various parts of the world on the occurrence of an eclipse, also in China. cf. Sir John Lubbock's "Savage Life," pp. 156, sqq. *aera* are "cymbals;" and Macleane says something of the same kind still prevails in India. In 1837, according to the "Times," cannon were fired off at Constantinople with the same object.

444–456: The lines 453–456 precede 444–452 in nearly all the editions. Ribbeck has transposed them and I have ventured to do the same. At any rate, if the transposition be a mistake, no violence is done to Juvenal. **444**: sqq. Martial expresses the same horror of a learned wife, *Sit non doctissima conjux*, ii 90. *Quaeris cur nolim te ducere Galla? diserta es*, xi 19. The lines here are almost a translation of Eur. Hippolyt. 640 641. **445**: *sermone rotato.* In Quint. xi 3 we have *quoties enthymemata sua gestu velut corrotundant* (if that be the correct reading, which I think it is), "who round off."

Another reading is *curvum*. **446**: The enthymema (ἐνθύμημα) is described, in several places, by Quintilian, who says that there is no Latin word corresponding to it, and that it is better to use the Greek word, as Juvenal does here. As an example of the enthymema, he gives the following:—"That is good of which no one can make a bad use. No one can make a bad use of virtue. Therefore virtue is good." We have here a perfect syllogism. Now, if we say "virtue is good, because no one can make a bad use of it," we have an enthymema. Here it appears as a syllogism, with one premiss suppressed, or understood. And this has always been a favourite weapon, in argument, with women. But it often has merely the sense of *quaestiuncula*. As to the sort of ἐνθυμήματα with which the Romans used to amuse themselves after dinner, cf. Aul. Gell. vi 13. *torqueat.* Pliny uses *contorquere* in the same sense, (*Graeci*) *tam longas, tamque rigidas periodos uno spiritu, quasi torrente contorquent*, Epp. v 20; and Catullus, *vibrare. truces vibrare iambos*, 36 5, Lucretius, *verbum jaculari*, iv 1137, and Petron., *dicta in calvos stigmososque jaculari*, 109. *jaculator* in the next satire. **448**: *repetit* seems to mean, "is referring back to in her mind" for authority as to her mode of expressing herself, &c. *Si omnium mearum epistolarum praecepta repetes, intelliges*, &c., Cic. ad. Q. fr. *volvit*, "opens," "turns over," like a book (metaphorically) or revolves in her mind. *Palaemonis*, vii 215, note. **450**: *tenet*, "quotes," Evans. But the meaning is, "is mistress of," "recollects." This sense of *tenere* is excessively common and survives in the French "tenir." *teneo melius ista quam meum nomen*, Mart. iv 37, and Pliny, of this same Martial, *remitterem te ad ipsum volumen, nisi quosdam* (*versiculos*) *tenerem*, and he proceeds to quote them, Epp. iii. 21. *Quantum antiquitatis tenet* Epp. i 22. *Obliviscenda magis quam tenenda.* Epp. viii 14. The full expression was no doubt *memoria tenere*, Cic. N. D. ii 41, or *memoriter tenere*, Plin. Epp. vi 33 (Cic. has *animis tenere* De Prov. Cons. 4), just as *memoria repetere* is the full expression for *repetere*. Horace speaks of some of these "antiquaries" of the male sex, who praise forgotten poems, *Jam Saliare Numae carmen qui laudat, et illud Quod mecum ignorat solus vult scire videri, Ingeniis non ille favet plauditque sepultis*

Nostra sed impugnat, nos nostraque lividus odit, Ep. ii 1 86 87. **451**: *Opicae*, iii 207. **452**: *soloecismum*, cf. Mart. xi 19 quoted above, *Quaeris cur nolim te ducere Galla? diserta es; saepe soloecismum mentula nostra facit.* This certainly looks like a parody of Juvenal. The eleventh book of Martial must be referred to the reign of Trajan, and was most likely written in or about A.D. 100, and there is nothing in this date to render an imitation impossible. On the word *soloecismus*, cf. Aul. Gell v 20. **454–456**: That is to say, she should dress like a man, sacrifice to Silvanus, the god of husbandmen, and go to the public baths, along with the males: which last act of indecency, it would seem, was sometimes witnessed, 374, note.

457–474: Rich women seem to think they may permit themselves anything. They soften their complexions with bread-poultices, for the sake of their lovers, not their husbands. They enamel their faces, and plaster themselves with all sorts of pigments and ointments. **458**: *virides gemmas* would be, I suppose, emeralds or jaspers. Claudian says of a bride, *viridique angustat iaspide pectus. grandes viridi cum luce smaragdi*, Lucret. iv 1126, Tibull. ii 4 27. Emeralds occupied the same rank as they do with us, being next but one to the diamond, the pearl, however, being second, instead of the ruby. At least, so it appears from Pliny. **459**: *elenchi* were, according to Pliny, long tapering pearls ending in a bulb—a form of earring common among us, H. N. ix 35. **460**: For the same sentiment, cf. Mart. viii 12. Plautus illustrates it very happily in the Aulul. iii 5 24–30. This line has, of course, been considered spurious. Jahn and Ribbeck propose to put 461–463 after 464–466. Macleane says, "*Interea* is not otherwise very intelligible." It seems to me to offer no difficulty. There is nothing which a rich woman will not permit herself, says Juvenal, a woman who puts on costly necklaces and wears precious earrings. In the meanwhile, she makes up her face with all sorts of cosmetics. Putting on the jewels is the last act of the completed toilette, and *interea* (the French "en attendant") refers to the preparations made at home, the secrets of the dressing-table, which are next spoken of. 460 is thrown in parenthetically, quite after the manner of the poet. See below, 531. *ad*

moechum . . . Indi is also a kind of parenthesis. *auribus extentis*, in the line above, is another instance of prolepsis. The ears were stretched out when the earrings had been put into them. **462**: See ii 107. *Poppaea* was the wife of Nero. She may have invented some cosmetic for the skin. The men seem to have been just as bad as the women; *mollibus lenibusque fomentis totum lacessitur eorum corpus*, Sen. de Vit. Beat. 11. **463**: *hinc*, viii 105, note. **464**: *veniunt*. This is the best MS. reading, and it has been altered to *veniet*, without necessity. Compare iii 113, vi 365, xiii 106 107 note. Lucilius has the same sentiment *Cum tecum est, quidvis satis est: Visuri alieni sunt homines? spiram, pallas, redimicula promit*, Fragm. xv 5. *non tibi, sed juveni cuidam vult bella videri*, Tibull. i 9 71. **465**: *foliata*, from the leaves of the spikenard, Plin. H. N. xiii 1. **468, 470**: She bathes in asses' milk, like Poppaea, of whom Pliny says, *quingentas secum per omnia trahens foetas (asinas) balnearum etiam solio totum corpus illo lacte macerabat, extendi quoque cutem credens*, Plin. H. N. xi 41. The same story is told by Dio. lxii 28, οὕτως ὑπερετρύφησεν . . . ὥστε ὄνους πενταχοσίας ἀρτιτόχους καθ' ἡμέραν ἀμέλγεσθαι, ἵν' ἐν τῷ γάλακτι αὐτῶν λούηται. This woman, says the poet, would take she-asses out in her suite, to furnish her with milk if she were banished to the ends of the earth. *comites*, iii 47, note. *axem*, "clime," as at viii 116. Observe the repetition of *fovetur*, 468–471.

474–511: It would be worth while inquiring how these women spend their day. If anything has gone wrong at night, the servants suffer for it in the morning. If my lady has made an appointment with her lover, the unhappy maid has a bad time of it, when assisting at her toilette. What pains, for instance, are necessary to build up the towering head-dress now in fashion, and how ridiculous is often the result! These women cannot be called wives, in the proper sense of the word. Their only thought of their husbands seems to be to plague and ruin them. **474**: *pretium curae*. The common expression is *operae pretium*, Hor. Sat. ii 4 63, i 2 37. In Pliny, Epp. viii 6, we have *Postquam mihi visum est pretium curae ipsum S(enatus) C(onsultum) quaerere*. There, however, as here, some MSS. read *operae pretium*, cf. Ovid,

Epist. ex Pont. ii 4 16; Trist. ii 1 11. *Pretium* occurs alone, *Sit pretium longas quaesisse per undas Scyron*, Stat. Achill. ii 378. **475, 476**: *aversus maritus. aversi petit oscula grata mariti*, Lucan, v 736. *libraria* may be the woman who weighed out the wool, &c., for the girls to spin. The meaning is not certain. **476, 477**: *ponunt tunicas*, *i.e.*, to be flogged. *cum posita stares ad verbera veste*, Ov. Am. i 6 19. *Liburnus*, iii 240. **478**: *alieni somni*, "of her husband's sleep." **479**: *frangit ferulas*, "has them broken on his back;" *frangebat vertice vitem*, viii 247. The *flagellum* was worse than the *scutica*. Hor. Sat. i 3 119. **480**: *tortoribus. Tonstrix Suburrae faucibus sedet primis Cruenta pendent qua flagella tortorum*, Mart. ii 17; and ix 93, to Condylus (a slave), *Tortorem metuis?* So *carnifices*, Juv. viii 175; and cf. xiv 21. In Petronius, 49, a delinquent cook is placed, for punishment, *inter duos tortores*. Juvenal says that some women pay a regular salary to persons who whip, &c., their slaves when required. If I remember rightly, in Mrs. Beecher Stowe's "Uncle Tom's Cabin," something very like the *tortor* is represented as existing in New Orleans. In the "Digests" we learn that the Emperor Hadrian (perhaps about the date of this Satire) banished a lady of quality for five years, *quod ex levissimis causis ancillas atrocissime tractasset*, i 6 2, quoted by Friedländer. **481, 483, 484**: *verberat, caedit, caedit*. This does not mean that she inflicts the blows herself, as is sufficiently shown by the context, *lassis caedentibus*. Compare 414 415 above, *Vicinos humiles rapere et concidere loris Exorata solet*, and note; and Sen. Epp. 122, *Audio, inquit, circa horam tertiam noctis, flagellorum sonos: quaero, quid sit? Dicitur rationes accipere.* **485**: *cognitio* is properly a judicial proceeding. **486**: The government of her house is as bad as that of the noted Sicilian tyrants, Dionysius, Phalaris, &c. We have had two instances in this Satire of a general sentiment or statement contained in a single line, followed by *nam* at the commencement of the next line, by way of illustrating and developing t, *Quaedam parva quidem sed non toleranda maritis Nam quid rancidius*, &c., 184 185, *Imponit finem sapiens et rebus honestis Nam quae docta nimis*, &c., 453 454. But for this connection,

the first lines would be rejected as monkish glosses. Indeed one has been (184, note), cf. xiv 226 227. **489**: *hortis*, "the public gardens." Besides those of Caesar, Cic. Phil. ii 42, there were many gardens in Rome which were frequented by the public, and doubtless served as places of rendezvous. cf. Cic. pro Cael. 15. *vicinum adolescentulum aspexisti . . . fuisti nonnunquam in iisdem hortis.* *Isiacae lenae, i.e.*, Isis herself, the well-known Egyptian goddess and patroness of an impure worship. She seems to have had several temples in Rome, besides the one mentioned below, 529. **491**: *Psecas* occurs as one of Diana's nymphs in Ov. Met. iii 172. The scholiast on this passage gives the etymology. "Ornatrices igitur componentes rarum ac parvum aquae solent mittere, ac velut, ψεκάζειν." And this Forcell. follows. It seems very doubtful. **492**: *Unus de toto peccaverat orbe comarum Annulus incerta non bene fixa manu Hoc facinus Lalage speculo quo viderat ulta est Et cecidit sectis icta Plecusa comis*, Mart. ii 66; Propert. iv 7 45; Ov. Am. i 14 16. These *ornatrices* must have had a bad time of it in some cases, but they seem often to have got their liberty; cf. Sueton. Claud. 40. **497**: *concilio* seems to me the better word here (not *consilio*), and one of Rupert's MSS. has it. The men were just as bad, according to Seneca, *de singulis capillis in consilium itur*, "they enter into consultation about every single hair," de Brev. Vit. 12; and just above he has *athletas novissimos pascit*, reminding one of 356. *admotaque lanis.* Horace says to an old woman, who still wishes to appear young; *Te lanae . . . non citharae decent*, Od. iii 15 13. These women are called into council just like the courtiers in Satire iv, and *censere* and *sententia*, which are words taken from the Senate, are used, as at 130 and 136 of that Satire. *materna*, "an old family slave." This is better than *matrona*, the reading of some MSS., and which is probably due to transcribers, who did not understand the former term. A slave, who could not contract marriage, could not, strictly speaking, be a *matrona*. **502**: sqq. H. Valerius (whose notes are given at the end of Achaintre's edition) was the first to notice that coins of the reign of Trajan and, to some extent, of Hadrian, exhibit a style of head-dress similar to that described in the text. The coins of Plotina, the wife,

and Marciana, the sister of Trajan (particularly the latter), engraved in the Dict. G. and R. Biog., will show this. (However, it will not do to assign too much importance to the point. A bust of Julia, daughter of Titus, in the Capitol at Rome, exhibits the hair built up in tiers.) *celsae procul aspice frontis honores Suggestumque comae*, Stat. Silv. i 2 113. The mode does not seem to have gone entirely out of fashion in the time of Appuleius, cf. Met. ii 26. *frequenti sobole spissus (capillus) cumulat verticem*, and it is alluded to by subsequent writers, as Tertullian, who complains that women "add to their stature" in this way, in defiance of Scripture, de Cult. Fem. ii 7. Tertullian is never to be cited as an authority for Latin, but he was in the world not long after Juvenal, at a time when manners had not much varied, and he often illustrates our author. The whole treatise, *De Cultu Feminarum*, is worth reading in conjunction with this Satire. It has hence been inferred that this Satire was written not earlier than the reign of Trajan. *Andromachen*, because she was proverbial for tallness. *Omnibus Andromache visa est spatiosior aequo: Unus qui modicam diceret Hector erat*, Ov. A. A. ii 645. **504**: *cedo si breve parvi*, &c. Macleane says, "This is a sort of mock apology for the turreted hair-dressing." What is a woman to do, if she is shorter than a pigmy? &c., and he adds, "there can be no doubt of the meaning, I think." I think it is open to considerable doubt, and that he has not here hit off the sense, which appears to me to have been correctly given by Achaintre, "Quod vitium jam in femina mediocris staturae ridiculum, quanto ridendum magis, si sortita fuerit breve spatium lateris." The poet says—This turreted head-dressing makes a woman look a regular Andromache (as tall as a grenadier, as we should say) in front. But look at her behind! she is much shorter. She is a different person. Pray, tell me, what if she be small as a pigmy! *i.e.*, pray what will the effect be? cf. xiii 210. **508–510**: Three different words for "husband," in these three lines! Surely, this is very clumsy, and would have been noticed by Ribbeck, if it had occurred in one of the Satires which he disputes. *gravis est rationibus*, some take to mean "she plagues him with her bills." So Von Siebold, "ihn drückt durch Rech-

›n;" but *rationes* are the husband's accounts to which ife is *gravis*, cf. i 118.

511–541: From 511 to 591 we have the superstitions of women treated of. In this passage we are introduced to the priests of Bellona, Cybele, &c., who all, in their several ways, frighten the women, and get money and offerings out of them. Though the objects of superstition have changed since Juvenal's time, yet the devotion of women to rites and priests, and the *modus operandi* of the priests themselves, have not, as a rule, undergone any great change. Appuleius, in the eighth book of his Metamorphoses, gives a lively picture of the methods by which these impostors used to extort offerings of various kinds from their victims. **512**: *Bellona* was worshipped with various savage rites, her priests wounding their arms and legs, and sometimes shamming, as we learn from a curious passage in Lamprid. Comm. 9. *Bellonae servientes vere exsecare brachium praecepit*, &c. It is to this that Lucan alludes, i 565, sqq., *tum quos sectis Bellona lacertis Saeva movet, cecinere deos; crinemque rotantes Sanguinei populis ulularunt tristia Galli*, where he couples with the Bellonarii, or priests of Bellona, the Galli, or priests of Cybele, as here (cf. Juv. iv 124). These men were eunuchs, *semiviri*. *Semiviro Cybeles cum grege junxit iter*, Mart. iii 91, *semimares*, Ov. Fast. iv 183. Τοὺς ἐν γυναιξὶν ἄνδρας, ἐν ἀνδράσι γυναῖκας, as Gregory Nazianzenus calls them. *intrat*, "comes upon the scene." *obsceno*, "his obscene inferior," Evans; "the lesser eunuchs," Macleane. The latter is, I think, correct. *obsceno* is used substantively, *minori* as the adjective, as at ii 9, *tristibus obscenis*. All these fellows are *obsceni*. **514**: *mollia* i 83, note. They become *molles*, 366 367, after the act of barbarism has been performed. Compare Catull. 61; Mart. ii 45. *rapta*. Another reading is *rupta*, but the former is far better. He has snatched it up in his wild enthusiasm. *rupta* has been substituted, from the idea that unless the *testa* were broken, it would not be suited to the purpose. But in Mart. 3 81, *Abscissa est quare Samia tibi mentula testa?* we have *testa* spoken of as the instrument, without any mention of its being broken. *Testam sumit homo Samiam, hoc inquit mihi telo Praecidi caulem, testesque una amputat ambo*, Lucil. fragm.

vii 1; Plin. H. N. xxxv 12. The Emperor Elagabalus who was an adept in all these rites is said to have emasculated himself, Lampr. and Aur. Vict. Dio, with much more probability, says he only thought of doing so. **515**: *cedunt*, "they are silenced," to enable him to speak. Compare with this passage ii 111, sqq. *tympana* were their instruments, viii 176. *Gallo matris Deum tympanizante*, Suet. Aug. 68. **517**: sqq. He bids her, in big language, dread the unwholesome season of the year, and threatens all sorts of evils unless he purifies her with a hundred eggs. Eggs were used in purifications, Plin. H. N. x 6; Ov. A. A. ii 330, where they are coupled with sulphur. Pliny tells many cock-and-bull stories about eggs, which are still the subject of superstitions; as, for instance, that the spoon should be thrust through the bottom of the shell, after the inside has been eaten, Plin. H. N. xxviii 2. **519**: *xerampelinas*, from ξηρὸς and ἄμπελος, the colour of a dried vine-leaf, "between scarlet and purple," Schol. I have followed Mr. Evans in translating "murrey-coloured." **521**: *tunicas*. Women, it is hardly necessary to mention, wore a kind of tunic. Sometimes the neophyte dipped his head seven times, *purificandi studio, me marino lavacro trado; septiesque submerso fluctibus capite, quod eum numerum praecipue religionibus aptissimum divinus ille Pythagoras prodidit*, &c., Appul. Met. xi 238. **522**: sqq. This superstition is mentioned by Hor. Sat. ii 3 290, sqq.; Pers. ii 15. *regis agrum* is the Campus Martius, originally the property of Tarquinius Superbus. In the preceding line *timidum* is put in contrast with *verticibus ipsis abluet*. To such an extent will superstition lay hold of her, that she, timid and shrinking female as she is on ordinary occasions, will plunge her head in the very eddies, &c. **525**: Compare Tibullus, i 2 83, quoted by Ruperti, and Senec. de Vit. Beat. 27, *cum aliqua, genibus per viam repens, ululat*, a practice which he mentions among other superstitions. **526**: *Io* is here, as elsewhere, identified with Isis. There is a certain degree of resemblance between the religious myths of the two, and they were both represented with cows' horns, Herod. ii 41. *candida*, from the story of her being turned into a white cow. **528**: *Meroe*, in

Aethiopia, where Jupiter Ammon had an oracle, Herod. ii 29. In the present day, babies of royal families are sometimes baptized with water from the river Jordan. **528, 529**: *aedem . . . ovili.* This was the temple of Isis, near the Campus Martius, the principal temple of the goddess in Rome, though there were others. It seems to have been destroyed in the great fire which took place under Titus, and to have been restored by Domitian. She was thence called *Isis Campensis.* The *ovile,* otherwise called *septa,* or *carceres,* were the enclosures, or lobbies, into which the citizens were admitted to vote at the Comitia Centuriata. These were in the Campus Martius. **531**: taken in conjunction with the preceding line, seems to refer to the woman herself, and not the priest, as some understand. She thinks the goddess has communicated with her in a dream. The ancients, as is well known, believed dreams to come from the gods. **532**: *ergo,* "what then?" as i 158. The most extravagant of these impostors gets the greatest credit, as below, 557. **533**: These priests wore linen dresses and were shorn. Martial calls them *linigeri, calvi, sistrataque turba,* xii 29 19. Otho was said to have celebrated the rites of Isis, *lintea religiosaque veste,* Suet. Otho, 12. **534**: *Anubis,* an Egyptian deity, worshipped under the form of a dog, xv 8, or of a man with a dog's head. The image of the god himself is supposed to laugh at the people beating their breasts, as he is carried about; compare *trepidam Minervam,* iii 139; *juris peritus Apollo,* i 128. **537**: *violato,* "stained." *cadurco,* "a kind of quilt," vii 221, "the sheets," as we should say. Men and women were bound to keep themselves chaste during these ceremonies, Tibull. i 3 26, Propert. iv 5 34, and, generally, some obligation of the kind seems to have been incumbent previous to sacrificing, cf. Tibull. ii 1 11 12; Ov. Fast. ii 326 sqq., iv 657, and cf. Ov. Met. vii 239, x 434 435, &c. **538**: *movisse caput, i.e.,* in anger, as a serpent raises his crest; not in token of pardon, as Macleane takes it. The god (Osiris) was represented carrying an asp. **539**: *meditata,* "studied." In the same way we have *vigilata proelia,* vii 27. **540**: *ansere. Nec defensa juvant Capitolia, quo minus anser Det jecur in lances, Inachi lauta tuas,* Ov. Fast. i 453 454. **541**: *Osiris,* the husband of Isis, worshipped

in conjunction with her. Osiris and Isis were, in fact, the two great divinities of Egypt, the only two Divinities which, according to Herodotus, were universally worshipped in that country. *popano* *πόπανον* (*πέπτω*), "a round cake." The Latin form is not, I believe, found elsewhere.

542–547: A shivering, or palsied (*tremens*), Jewess is next introduced. **542**: *cophino foenoque.* These have been mentioned at iii 14. **543**: *arcanam in aurem.* Heinrich thinks this an unusual expression, and would read *arcanum.* I think *arcanam* may stand very well, and that it is far preferable. If every expression is to be condemned which is not to be found in exactly the same form in the same or another author, there is an end to the most original and picturesque turns of speech of the poets of all nations. *arcanam in aurem* means "into her secret ear." *arcanus* means also, sometimes, "that can keep a secret," "that has a secret entrusted to it," of which sense Forcell. gives several examples. In ix 113 we have a much more startling expression, *vinosus inebriet aurem.* **545**: *arboris,* cf. iii 12–16, which explains this. According to the *Guardian* newspaper, the late Lord Stanhope read a paper before the Society of Antiquaries, in which it is attempted to be shown that *arbor* here means "the Cross," and that there is a reference to Christians. **546**: She fills her hand too, but with small coin. **548–552**: An Armenian or Syrian (*i.e.*, Eastern) soothsayer next gets his palm crossed, in return for the good fortune he promises, after the stereotyped fashion, a handsome young lover, a thumping legacy, &c. This man examines the entrails of beasts and birds; he will kill a boy too, for the purpose, and then go and inform. **551**: *rimabitur. rimatur et* is another reading.

553–568: But the Chaldaean astrologers are in most repute, especially those who have got into trouble in consequence of their art, and have seen the inside of a prison, or have suffered exile. *Chaldaeis.* The Chaldaeans would seem to have been originally a tribe in the south of Babylonia, but the two names came to be confounded. Pliny, H.N. vi 26, speaks of *Babylon, Chaldaicarum gentium caput,* and a little further on he says, *Durat adhuc ibi Jovis Beli templum. Inventor hic fuit sideralis scientiae.* This country

was looked upon as the headquarters of astrological science, magic, sorcery, &c., as may be gathered from the book of Daniel. Hence *Chaldaei* came to be applied *par excellence*, as here, to all sorcerers and magicians from the East; cf. x 93 94. *Chaldaeorum promissa, magorum sacra*, Tac. Ann. ii 27. **554, 555**: *credent . . . Hammonis.* Valer. Maxim. viii 15, speaks of the great honour in which this sacred fountain was held, and he couples it, as here, with Delphi. The three greatest oracles of ancient times were those of Dodona, Delphi, and Jupiter Hammon. Lucretius, Ovid, &c., speak of the fountain being cold by day, and warm by night,—a legend which Moore has reproduced in his "Irish Melodies." **555**: *Delphis oracula cessant.* The oracle had been plundered by Nero. It was restored by Hadrian, and finally put a stop to by Theodosius. **558, 559**: These lines are omitted by some of the best MSS. They would, certainly, be much better away. The *magnus civis* is Galba, ii 104, note. The astrologer who persuaded Otho to aim at the Empire is called Ptolemaeus by Tacitus, Hist. i 22 23, and Seleucus by Suetonius, Otho, 4 6. It is impossible to say exactly what *tabella* means here. I take it to be some memoranda of his supposed observations of the stars. **561**: *castrorum in carcere mansit.* Not (surely) "for some military offence," as Macleane puts it —for this would gain him no credit; but for something connected with his trade. **562**: *genium.* Most of the commentators render "genius," "talent," and so Messrs. White and Riddle in their Dictionary. The word may bear that sense in two passages of Martial, but not here. The meaning is, no professional fortune-teller will get the credit for being attended by a familiar spirit, unless, &c. Strictly speaking, every Roman had his *genius;* but the meaning above seems quite plain, "nobody will give him credit for a genius worth anything." **563**: *Cyclada*, one of the Cyclades. Not "Cyclas," as Macleane has it. There was no one island of that name. **564**: *contigit*, 217, note. *caruisse*, "to have been delivered from," "set free from." In Hor. Epod. 16 14–16, *carere* is twice used in this sense. *Quaeque carent ventis et solibus ossa Quirini nefas videre dissipabit insolens (barbarus victor) Forte, quid expediat, communiter aut melior

pars, Malis carere quaeritis laboribus. Petron. 89, *turba carens bello*, that has been delivered from war. Cic. Tusc. Quaest. i 16, has a kind of dissertation on *carere* which he says signifies "egere eo quod habere velis:" but this meaning was certainly not kept to. For *Seriphus*, cf. x 170. **566**: *Tanaquil*, your wife; cf. Livy. i 34. *Tanaquil, perita, ut vulgo Etrusci, coelestium prodigiorum mulier*, which explains the use of the word here. She was the wife of Tarquinius Priscus. Martial alludes to these impostors of *astrologi* or *mathematici* in ix 83 1. *Dixerat astrologus periturum te cito Munna.*

569–581: He passes on to women who no longer consult astrologers, but have become professors of the art themselves. **569**: *triste Saturni sidus.* **570**: Virg. has *triste Minervae Sidus*, Æn. xi 259 260, but in reference to a particular occasion. **573**: *pinguia sucina* balls, or pieces of amber, which the Roman ladies used to hold in their hands, for the sake of the scent which they gave out, *spirant Succina virginea quod relegata manu*, Mart. xi 8, iii 65, or to keep their hands cool, according to some, though I hardly understand how they could have produced that effect. Propertius, it is true, has *manibus dura frigus habere pila*, which may refer to this practice, ii 24 12, *electra . . . quae lucidus amnis . . . nuribus mittit gestanda Latinis*, Ov. Met. ii 365. *pinguia*, "greasy," or "clammy," from being held in the hand. A correspondent informs me that in Zante, the ladies still hold strings of amber beads in their hands. **574**: *ephemeridas.* These must have been something in the shape of our "almanack, with a diary or space for entering accounts," &c., Ov. Am. i 12 25 26, or rather the word is used sometimes in the former, and sometimes in the latter sense. Here it means an almanack, with the motions of the heavenly bodies. Plin. H. N. xxix 1, speaks of a quack who eclipsed his rivals, *ad siderum motus ex ephemeride mathematica cibos dando, horasque observando* (580 581 below); and he adds that the man died worth eighty thousand pounds of our money; cf. Am. Marc. xxviii 4. *nec in publico prodeunt, nec prandent . . . antequam ephemeride scrupulose sciscitata didiscerint . . . ubi sit signum Mercurii*, &c. **575**: *patriam*, "his native place." The French still use "patrie," and "pays," and the Italians, "paese," in this

sense. Macleane's rendering, "she will not come home if they are abroad," seems wrong. The woman is supposed to be at Rome throughout. **576**: *numeris Thrasylli.* So *Babylonios numeros,* Hor. Od. i 11 2. *numerisque moventibus astra,* Lucan, i 641. There were two Thrasylli, astrologers, father and son, the former the intimate friend of Tiberius. **577**: *ad primum lapidem,* "as far as the first mile-stone." The Roman roads had mile-stones like ours. They are repeatedly mentioned by Martial, sometimes as *lapides: Quo te bis decimus ducit ab urbe lapis,* iv 57 4, sometimes as *marmora: Octavum domina marmor ab urbe legit* (*viator*), ix 65 4, sometimes simply with the number *ad quartum,* iii 20 18. **581**: *Petosiris,* an early Egyptian astrologer, who, in conjunction with Necipsos, an Egyptian king, was said to be the founder of the art of casting nativities.

582–591: A person in a humble station goes to the Circus, and consults one of the vulgar fortune-tellers that are to be found there, instead of one of the fashionable charlatans, who are summoned to the houses of the rich. There is force in Macleane's remark that this passage 582–591, ought rather to come after 568 and before 569–581. It relates to persons who consult astrologers, whereas in 569–581, the poet has done with this class, and passes on to those who have got a step further, who no longer consult others, but are themselves consulted as authorities. But if the transposition were made, a still stronger difficulty would arise from 591 sqq., *Hae tamen,* "These (poor women), however, &c.;" which clearly refer to the persons mentioned in 582–591, and would be unintelligible after 569–581. We must therefore leave the passage alone. **582**: The Circus was full of these "gipsies," as we should call them. Ennius, quoted by Cicero de Div. i 58, speaks of the *de circo astrologos,* and Horace for this reason calls it *fallacem circum,* Sat. i 6 113. *utrimque metarum.* These "goals," were three pillars at each end of the *spina* or low wall running lengthways down the course in the Circus, round which the chariots had to turn. An engraving of them will be found in the Dict. G. and R. Ant. "Circus." **587**: *qui publica fulgura condit,* an old priest who purifies a place struck by lightning, Dict. G. and R. Ant. "Bidental." *mundi,* "the sky." *unus omnium*

parens mundus est, Sen. de Ben. iii 28, "we all come from the sky." **588** : This is ironical, "The destinies of the vulgar seem to be decided in the Circus and at Tarquin's Mound," viii 43, note. **589** : *Quae nullis*, &c. So ii 90, *nullo gemit hic tibicina cornu.* viii 219, *nullis aconita propinquis miscuit.* viii 193, *nullo cogente Nerone. nulla vehitur cervice supinus*, Luc. Some (Heinrich and Macleane among them) read *nudis*, and take this to mean any common prostitute (iii 65), referring to 122 above, *nuda papillis Constitit auratis;* but I cannot understand what the gold-leaf on the nipples of Messalina standing naked for hire, has to do with the *longum aurum* of a woman who is here represented as going to the Circus, to consult a fortuneteller on a matrimonial project. **590** : *delphinorum columnae* were two pillars on the *spina* or central wall, supporting figures of dolphins, in honour of Neptune. This will be best understood by referring to "Circus," in Dict. G. and R. Ant., where an engraving is given. *phalae* were either two other columns at the opposite end of the wall, supporting a number of eggs, *ova* (see engraving), or else, as Servius says, ad Virg. Aen. ix 705, they were movable towers on which fights take place, and this is more likely to be correct. However this may be, the eggs and the dolphins were seven in number, to indicate the number of times the chariots went round the course, and they were movable, so as to be either taken down, or more probably put up, in succession, according as each round had been accomplished, as a kind of telegraph-board for the spectators. The author of the article in Dict. G. and R. says, the "dolphins" were not movable. But I think he is wrong, Dio. xlix 43. A signal would be wanted at both ends, and the dolphins and the eggs exactly correspond to each other.

592–601 : Yet these poor women, whatever may be their follies, become mothers and nurse their children. Rich women practise abortion; yet perhaps, after all, so much the better for the husband. Who knows what might be the result if his wife brought forth? He might have a blackamoor for his heir. **592** : *Hae*, the poor women mentioned above. These undergo the perils of childbirth, and are obliged to nurse their own children. *fortuna urgente* rather refers to the latter duty, they cannot afford to do otherwise than nurse them; but rich ladies don't even have children

. . . In the old times all Roman mothers nursed their children; but long before Juvenal's time it had become fashionable in the upper class to employ wet-nurses. **594**: *puerpera* is a woman in labour, or just delivered, Ter. And. iii 2 10. This line is clearly an exaggeration—very common in our author, *ex gr.*, *prodigio par est cum nobilitate senectus*, iv 97. There were plenty of old noblemen living, and plenty of noble ladies in childbirth, when he wrote. Ovid has a similar expression, *Raraque in hoc aevo est quae velit esse parens*, Nux. 24; and compare Sen. Cons. Helv. 16. Rome was bad enough, Heaven knows; but we must not take poets and satirists as our implicit guides on the subject, any more than we ought to take Pigault-Lebrun, or Paul de Kock for our guides as to the manners of the first French Empire or the reign of Louis Philippe. This is a mistake often made. Yet abortion does not seem to have been a legal offence, till the time of Severus; cf. Long's note Cic. pro Cleunt. 11. **595**: *tantum medicamina possunt.* This same ending of a line occurs twice in Ovid. Met. vii 116 and xiv 285. **596, 597**: *homines . . . conducit.* iii 31, *conducit siccandam eluviem.* She does it as a business transaction. **599**: *pueris salientibus.* So the babe that leapt in Elizabeth's womb, in the New Test. **599, 600**: Mart. vi 39 4-7. *decolor heres. decolor Indus*, Ov. A. A. iii 139. **601**: *numquam tibi mane videndus.* The ancients attached great importance to what they saw the first thing in the morning. A blackamoor, as it appears, would be ominous. Compare v 54, where we are told that a man would not like to meet a black among the tombs at night—perhaps for the same reason; and a story to the same effect of the Emperor Severus meeting a black and ordering him to be removed, *coloris ejus tactus omine*, Spart. Sev. 22.

602–609: The case of supposititious children. How fortune must laugh at some of these foundlings, bearing the noblest names and filling the most aristocratic offices in the state! The exposure of children was permitted at this time, and was not made a legal offence till the reign of Constantine. **602**: *Transeo.* Macleane renders this "I pass on to," in the same way that he translates *Transi gymnasia*, iii 114. I think he is wrong, and that the meaning is, "I pass by," as in x 273, *regem transeo Ponti*, cf. vii 190. He says "I pass by sup-

posititious children," and yet he gives us eight lines on the subject. But this is a common form with all writers and speakers. It means, "I won't dwell on the topic." **603**: *lacus*, the public ponds or reservoirs of water in Rome, of which Pliny says that Agrippa constructed seven hundred, H. N. xxxvi 15; cf. Dict. G. and R. Ant. "Aquaeductus." They would naturally become muddy and *spurci*, from the number of people who came to fetch water there, *ad lacum concurritur quem qui exhauriunt, et turbant*, Sen. Epp. 36, and from the beasts of burden that were driven to be watered there. *universa nos jumenta . . . ad lacum proximum, bibendi causa, gregatim prominabat*, App. Met. ix 195. *Ipse petita lacu nunc mihi dulcis aqua est*, Propert. ii 23 2. Compare Hor. Sat. i 4 37, *a furno redeuntes lacuque*, and Ter. Adelph. iv 2 44, *apud ipsum lacum est pistrilla*. We are nowhere else informed that children were exposed at these ponds, but they would be likely places for the purpose. The word is used by Lucret. iv 1026, where Mr. Munro translates "urinal," which can scarcely be correct, though *dolia curta*, which follow, bear that sense, and are utensils in the shape of a half-barrel, which we have often seen abroad. The way in which the word *lac* figures in Lucret. suggests an additional reason for their being *spurci*. **604**: With regard to the *Salii*, cf. ii 124. The *Scauri*, ii 35, who are here put for a noble family, were, however, by no means remarkable for great antiquity. They were first raised to eminence by Aemilius Scaurus, who was born about a century and a half before Christ. *His* father was a coal-merchant. **607**: *Involvitque sinu*, literally "wraps them up in her bosom," as evidencing her care of them. It would be in the *sinus* that the most precious objects would be carried, *pellitur paternos In sinu ferens Deos Et uxor et vir sordidosque natos*, Hor. Od. ii 18 27. **608**: *Secretumque sibi mimum parat*, Hor. Od. iii 29 50. *Quos tibi Fortuna ludos facis?* Plin. Epp. iv 11. **609**: *producit*, "brings them up," "rears them," *Et laevo monitu pueros producit avaros*, xiv 228, vi 241; Hor. Od. ii 13 3. Or it may bear the sense of "advances them," which is common to *producere*. *Quo potuit civem populus producere liber Ascendi, supraque nihil, nisi regna reliqui*, Lucan, ii 562–563.

610–626: Love-potions are next mentioned, the effect of which was commonly supposed to be madness. **610, 611**: *Thessala philtra.* Thessaly was celebrated for its witches, magic incantations, drugs, &c. *portenta Thessala,* Hor. Epp. ii 2 209. *Thessala venena,* Od. i 27 21. *Thessalus veneficus,* Plaut. Amph. iv 3 9. Compare Aristoph. Nub. 739, Γυναῖκα φαρμακίδ' εἰ πριάμενος Θετταλήν, κτλ. **612**: *solea pulsare nates, i.e.,* treat him as a child, do whatever she likes to him. *solea puer objurgabere rubra,* Pers. v 169. **612, 613**: *inde, inde,* "from this source it is that;" from these philtres. **614**: sqq. The case he cites is that of Caligula, to account for whose undoubted madness it was supposed that his wife Caesonia had administered a potion to him, Sueton. Calig. 50. As to *tremuli frontem pulli,* cf. 133–135, note. Who, he says, will not be ready to follow the example of an empress? viii 198–199. All the world was turned topsy-turvy by the insanity of Caesar. *avunc,* "maternal uncle," the word which the purists of Servius's time objected to in the Æneid: and it does seem to have been avoided in epic poetry. The mushroom of Agrippina (as to which see v 147 148, note) was far less baneful, for that only killed a single old man; whereas Caesonia's potion was the cause of senators and knights being murdered, and carried fire and sword through the Empire. *in coelum descendere.* The same expression occurs in Seneca, *postea quam Claudius in coelum descendit,* and Statius Silv. iii 3 77 has imitated it *stelligerum senior demissus in axem Claudius.* *siquidem,* "inasmuch as," as xii 107.

626–642: Women poison their step-sons, and even their own children. This is no invention of the satirist. Look at the case of Pontia. **627**: Horace, opposing to the vices of the Romans the manners of some imaginary barbarians, whom he endows with every virtue (much as Rousseau, long afterwards, constructed his ideal "primitive man"), says of them, *Illic* (among them) *matre carentibus Privignis mulier temperat innocens,* Od. iii 24 17 18. Comp. Virg. Georg. ii 128. For *pellice,* cf. ii 57, note. **631**: *livida,* because they make people livid, as *pallida mors,* and other expressions. Before *livida,* Heinrich says that *nam* is to be understood; but this

is unnecessary. **632, 633**: Comp. Hor. Sat. ii 6 108 109, *praelambens omne quod affert.* These lines are left out in some MSS., perhaps on account of the difficulty in *quae peperit.* But Juvenal has passed from step-mothers to real mothers. This is clear from what follows. *Natos de pellice* are the husband's bastards, *privignum*, his son by a former marriage. These women go on to murder their own children, if they have an interest in doing so. The *pupillus* is a boy under age, who has lost his father. His mother would have the care of his person, but his property would be under the guardianship of a *tutor.* **635**: *priorum* "of former satirists." It is better to take *finem* by itself and not with *priorum*, "the proper limit (of satire) and the laws observed by our predecessors." **638**: *Pontia.* This woman, who poisoned her two children, had become proverbial. The scholiast says she was the daughter of Petronius, who conspired against Nero. Martial in several places mentions her, ii 34, iv 43, vi 75. **640**: The meaning seems to be, "The evidence against me is palpable, and I must suffer the consequences; still, I have accomplished my purpose by my own hand." I see no necessity for reading *tantum* in place of *tamen.* **642**: *septem . . . fuissent.* It is better to take these words as put into the mouth of Pontia, not (with Heinrich) as an utterance of the poet. They answer to the question, and they agree, in tone, with the impudence of the former speech.

643–661: Granted that all the old poets tell us of the crimes of Medea, &c., is the truth, there were doubtless female monsters in those days; but they were hurried along by their passions; they did not, as now, act with cool deliberation. There are plenty of Clytemnaestras in the present day. The only difference is that their weapon is subtle poison, in the place of a rude axe. Yet they would not shrink from using an axe either, if the necessity arose—if they thought their husbands had protected themselves by antidotes against the effects of poison. **643**: *Colchide*, Medea. *Procne* killed her son Itys. **647, 648**: *feruntur praecipites.* Compare 134 135. *Per mala praeceps fertur*, Hor. Sat. i 4 30. *Rapienda rebus in malis praeceps via est*, says Clytemnaestra, in Sen. Agamem. 154. So *agere praecipitem* in Catull. 40, and Sen.

de Ira, iii 20. **649, 650**: *ut saxa . . . recedit*, describes a landslip. The antecedent to *quibus* seems to be *saxa quibus mons subtrahitur* from which the mountain (so to speak) withdraws its support, slips away. *clivo latus pendente recedit*, "from the hanging slope its side recedes," *i.e.*, "is thrown further back." Not that the side slips off, as some take it. *quibus* might indeed go with *recedit* as well as with *subtrahitur*, "from which the mountain is withdrawn, and from which its side recedes;" but the other is better. **653**: *Alcestim*. Alcestis, who devoted herself for her husband Admetus. **655**: *Belides*, the Danaides, daughters of Danaus, and the granddaughters of Belus. Their story is well known. *Eriphyle* betrayed her husband Amphiaraus and her son. **654**: her lap-dog. Plaut. Asin. i 3 32. **657**: *Tyndaris illa*, that daughter of Tyndareus who murdered her husband Agamemnon. *Armat bipenni Tyndaris dextram furens*, Sen. Agam. 889. *bipennem*, a two-edged axe used in battle, (*Camilla*) *validam dextra rapit indefessa bipennem*, Virg. Aen. xi 651, also as a woodman's axe. *Duris ut ilex tonsa bipennibus*, Hor. Od. iv 4 57. **657–659**: In these lines *bipennem* is opposed to *pulmone rubetae*, *insulsam et fatuam* to *tenui*, and *dextra laevaque tenebat* to *agitur*. Clytemnaestra used an axe, a bungling, senseless instrument, laying about, right and left, with it; *now*, "the business is transacted" by the subtle poison of a toad; cf. i 70. Another account made a sword the instrument of the murder. Æsch. Ag. 1506. Eur. Elect. 163. *bipennem insulsam et fatuam*. Valer. Flacc. has *docta bipenni* (the best reading, another is *ducta*), i 122. The ancients, like the moderns, often personified inanimate objects, applying to them epithets which are proper to sentient beings. Of this practice we have many examples in Juvenal, with whom it was a favourite: *anxia epistola*, iv 149; *audaces carinas*, x 264; *miranti aratro*, xiii 65; *irato sistro*, xiii 93; *esuriens ramus*, xiii 99; *temeraria lina*, v 102; *sollicitae portae, sterile aratrum, pigra dolabra, gulosum fictile, locuples podagra vigiles fenestrae jejunum odium*, &c. So Horace has *impiae rates, avarae terrae, cessans amphora, illiterati nervi*, Virgil, *crudeles terras* and *littus avarum* in one line, and Martial, *succintus libellus, attonitus ignis, lasciva numismata, irata lagena*, Silius, *insanus ensis*, &c., &c. Pers.

deceptus nummus, sapiens porticus, bibulae aures, sitiens lagena. cf. v 10, note. **660, 661**: Yet she will use steel too, if her husband has fortified himself with the antidotes of Mithridates, the thrice conquered king of Pontus. His armies were defeated by Sulla, Lucullus, and Pompey. As to his famous antidotes, cf. Plin. H.N. xxv 2, *uni ei excogitatum quotidie venenum bibere, praesumptis remediis, ut consuetudine ipsa innoxium fieret.* In another passage of the same book, he speaks of certain plants as *Mithridatia.* Compare Juv. xiv 252.

INTRODUCTION TO SATIRE VII.

THIS Satire turns on the neglect of literary men and the miseries of small lawyers, &c. In the Emperor lies the only hope for poets, the most eminent of whom have been obliged to take to trade. The rich favour genius with their admiration—and that is all. They accommodate you with some dirty, untenanted apartment in which to recite your productions, and send people to applaud you, but they decline contributing to your expenses. These people forget that, in order to become a great poet, it is absolutely necessary that a man should have the wherewithal to sustain life, that his mind should be free from small pecuniary cares. Neither Horace nor Virgil could have produced their immortal compositions, if they had not been at the time in tolerably easy circumstances. But now-a-days, there are no Maecenases; substantial patronage of literary men has entirely ceased.

Does it pay any better to write histories? This is a very laborious class of composition, and costs a great deal of time and trouble; and yet when all is said, people would prefer having the newspaper read to them. Then, as to lawyers, for all their big talk, their fees are ridiculously small. It is true that some of the big-wigs get what they please to ask; but then they are men of known wealth and position. The small fry try to rival their expenditure and their establishments, and become bankrupts in consequence. The poor lawyer had better emigrate to Gaul or Africa.

How about teachers of rhetoric? After all their labours and all their drudgery, they will fail to get paid their fees, and will have to go to law to recover them; while teachers of music and singing-masters realise immense fortunes. There are exceptions, it is true, such as Quintilian; but these men

owe their success to a rare good fortune: the majority come off badly; and their pupils look down upon them.

Teachers of grammar are in a like case. They are robbed of part of their fees by the servants; they have to get up in the small hours; the parents of their charges expect that they should be gifted with universal knowledge, that they should be answerable for the morals of their pupils; and then pay them, for a year's work, as much as a popular favourite gets for a single victory in the Circus or Amphitheatre!

The date of this Satire depends on an answer to the question, Who is the emperor alluded to in the first line? I think Hadrian is most likely to be the man. It is impossible to suppose, with Gifford, that Domitian is meant; for Paris, the actor, 87, sqq., had not obtained a great reputation till some time after Domitian's accession, when that Emperor had begun to develop qualities which rendered him an object of abhorrence to the Satirist. And while Juvenal constantly uses the names of dead men, i 170 171, in a typical sense (as, for instance, Lucan and Palaemon in this very Satire, 79 215), he had not the gift of prophecy. What I have just said about Lucan, &c., may apply to Statius and Paris; the names may be used as types. When he tells us that Paris patronises poets, it seems to me probable that he is satirising, under that name, a favourite of Hadrian, unknown to us, and some living poet might be designated by *Statius*, which would be quite in Juvenal's manner, *or*, 82–87 refer to a real occurrence in the life of Statius (dead before this was written), and 88–92 beginning with *ille et*, "Aye and Paris too," are a hit at a contemporary actor, possibly of the same name.* The mention of Quintilian's wealth, or supposed wealth, must also refer to a later time than the opening year of Domitian's reign.

* Cf. Introd. p 209 note. That the name of a favourite actor was constantly assumed by other actors after him, is certain from other examples besides this of Paris; *ex gr.* there were at least three artistes who bore the name of Pylades; one in the reign of Augustus, Suet. Aug. 45, another a favourite of Trajan, Dio. lxviii 10, a third mentioned in an inscription of Gruter, cf. Fronto. Epp. ad Ver. 8 Aug. Mais' note. But it is not necessary to suppose that the person aimed at should have been called Paris.

NOTES TO SATIRE VII.

1: There has been a great discussion as to what Emperor is meant here. See Introduction. *ratio* is the French *raison d'être.* The Camenae are here used for the Muses generally, iii 16, note. **3**: *respicere* is "to have some regard for." *Respice Laerten, ut jam sua lumina condas,* etc., Ov. Her. i 113. *Sive neglectum genus et nepotes Respicis auctor,* Hor. Od. i 2 35. Calpurnius has *Nec quisquam nostras inter dumeta Camenas Respiceret.* This *may* be one of the passages to which Professor Ramsay alludes (Dict. G. and R. Biog, article, "Calpurnius") as imitations of Juvenal by Calp., cf. note to 27 of this Satire. I do not think there are any passages in Calp. which necessarily show an acquaintance with Juvenal (supposing him to have written later than Juv. as I believe he did—though, as is well known, this is disputed). The point is not of the slightest importance, except as bearing on the reputation as "a classic" of our author, with the poets of the next few centuries. While Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Tibullus, &c., are constantly laid under contribution, there are very few passages indeed which can be cited from their writings as showing even a probable knowledge of Juvenal. *jam* might be taken with *celebres,* "poets already celebrated," "even celebrated poets," but it is better to take it with *tentarent.* **4**: *Gabii,* as already observed, iii 192, vi 56, is used by Juvenal for any small town. But baths seem to have been taken there. *Qui caput et stomachum supponere fontibus audent Clusinis Gabiosque petunt et frigida rura,* Hor. Epp. i 15 9. They were probably sulphur baths, as the water in that district is sulphureous at the present day. The complaints contained in this Satire about the neglect of literature, philosophy, &c., have been common in every age. Seneca had given utterance to them, in the preceding generation, *Cessat*

omne studium et liberalia professi, sine ulla frequentia, desertis angulis praesident, Epp. 95. Compare also, with parts of this Satire, Theocrit. Idyll. 16. In the present day, literature, at any rate, can scarcely be called a neglected or underpaid profession. **5**: *tentarent conducere* means that they were trying the experiment of renting baths and public ovens, as a means of livelihood. **6**: *Praecones* were a union of our "public criers" and "ushers of the court." At public auctions they called out the biddings, and stimulated the purchasers, while the *magister auctionis* knocked the lots down. (French auctions are conducted in this manner at the present day.) They kept silence in public assemblies, &c., Dict. G. and R. Ant. The profession was rather looked down upon, but in the days of Juvenal and Martial, it had become very lucrative, iii 157. *Artes discere vult pecuniosas? . . . Praeconem facias vel architectum*, Mart. v 56. *Praetores duo, quatuor tribuni, Septem causidici, decem poetae Cujusdam modo nuptias petebant A quodam sene, non moratus ille Praeconi dedit Eulogo puellam*, Mart. vi 8; cf. Hor. Sat. i 6 86; Epp. i 7 56 65. **9**: *ames*, "acquiesce in." *Machaera* must be some auctioneer or crier. **10**: *commissa auctio*, "an auction of confiscated goods." *commissa, i.q., fisco adjudicata.* The word occurs in this sense of "forfeited" in Quint. Declam. 341, quoted by Forcellini, Cic. Verr. Act II lib. I ch. 10 and elsewhere, and often in the law-writers. **11**: *armaria*, "cupboards standing against, or inserted in, the walls." Hence the French "armoire." Pliny, in describing one of the rooms in his villa, says, *Parieti ejus in bibliothecae speciem armarium insertum est quod non legendos libros sed lectitandos capit*, a cabinet of his favourite authors, Epp. ii 17. **12**: *Alcithoen . . . Fausti.* Nothing more is known of these tragedies, or their authors, any more than of the "Theseis" of *Codrus* in i 2. Whether real or imaginary, they stand for very poor productions. **13–16**: The poet says it is, at any rate, better to earn an honest living in this way, than to rise by perjury, like some of the oriental adventurers, who came here originally in the character of slaves, and have risen to the dignity of knights, and so on. **13**: Compare xvi 29 30. **15**: *Cappadoces equites.* So Martial, x 76 3, speaks

of *de Cappadocis eques catastis*, a "knight" from the bench where slaves were put up for sale. *Capp.* was a term of reproach. Cic. Flacc. 25, quum Senat. 6. **16** : *traducit*, "exposes to view," viii 17, note, such as Galatia, or Gallo-Graecia, is in the habit of exhibiting to us set up for sale. Of course, they had been put up for sale before they became "knights," i 155, note. *nudo talo* as *pedibus albis*, i 111.

18: sqq. Real poets will now attract the attention of the Emperor. **20** : So *aliud agere*, to be negligent. **21** : Martial, addressing Domitian, says of his own books, *Consuevere jocos vestri quoque ferre triumphi Materiam dictis nec pudet esse ducem*, i 5, and Statius has almost the same expression as Juvenal, *magni ducis indulgentia pulsat*, of Domitian, Silv. v 2 125. **23**: *Praesidia*, Hor. Od. i 1 2. *croceae membrana tabellae.* It is quite clear that the Romans sometimes bound up books in the same form as ours. Here the binding is either naturally yellow, *ex gr.*, of cedar or stained to that colour; cf. Mart. i 3, *Hos eme* (*libellos*) *quos arctat brevibus membrana tabellis*, and he goes on to say *me manus una capit.* It was a small octavo, or a duodecimo, as we should say. **25** : *Veneris marito*, to Vulcan, *i.e.*, to the fire. **25**: *Telesine*, a name probably put in for the metre. It occurs in Mart. **26**: *tinea. tineas pasces taciturnus inertes*, Hor. Epp. i 20 12. **27**: *Frange miser calamos. Frange leves calamos et scinde Thalia libellos*, Mart. ix 74 9. *Frange puer calamos et inanes desere Musas*, Calpurn. iv 23. The Roman pen was a reed, the form of which is shown under "Atramentum" in Dict. G. and R. Ant. **28** : *cella* is any small apartment. Here it properly means a garret, as in Mart. vii 20 20 21, *Haec per ducentas cum domum tulit scalas, Seque obserata clausit anxius cella*, where the *cella* is a poor apartment up two hundred steps, exactly our garret, attic. **29**: *imagine*, cf. ii 7, note. **31** : *disertus* is applied to poets by Martial and Petronius; "eloquent" may perhaps be similarly used. **32** : *Junonis avem*, the peacock. **35**: *se odi*, is to be sick of one's life. It occurs in this sense in Plaut. Bacch. iii 3 13, *Jam aderit tempus cum sese etiam ipse oderit*, which Terence has imitated in Hec. iv 1 28, *At pol jam aderit, se quoque etiam cum oderit. facundus* is an epithet more commonly bestowed on an orator

than a poet, and from the fact of Martial addressing Juvenal as *facunde Juvenalis*, vii 91, it has been inferred that "Martial knew nothing of his poetical studies." Yet Martial applies the epithet *facundus* to poets constantly, cf. Introduction, and in addition to the passages cited there, compare Stat. Silv. I 2 4, *facundum ebur*, and Stat. Silv. I 3 I, in conjunction with lines 22 13. Horace uses *facundia* of a Poet, A. P. 41, and Calpurn. has *facundus Apollo.* iv 87.

36 : The rich man lends the poor poet some untenanted old house in which to recite. Comp. with what follows Tac. de Or. 9. **37** : *Musarum et Apollinis aede relicta,* after having given up reciting there, in order to take up with a private literary patron. **38** : So Lucian says ironically of the Roman blue-stockings, that they write poems not much inferior to those of Sappho, *ποιοῦσιν ἄσματα οὐ πολὺ τῆς Σαπφοῦς ἀποδέοντα.* Juv. might almost be supposed to have in view Pliny the Younger's compliments to his friends on their *vers de societé.* Vid. the Epistles *passim.* **41** : There does not seem to be any other instance of *longe = diu.* But *longius* and *longissime* occur in this sense: also *longe ante.* And Servius seems to have read *longe = diu*, Virg. Eclog. iv 53. It would be difficult to assign any other meaning to the word here. Otherwise it must mean "At a long distance," "In an out of the way part of the town:" which is rather forced. The argument that a word is not found elsewhere in precisely the same sense is of very little avail against a context showing what the author *did* mean. And the same holds good of constructions. So the passage iv 153–155 would be quite clear, even if we had not preserved to us accidentally two passages to show that *jaculari a capella* is perfectly good Latin. See *ad loc.* **43** : *scit dare.* Compare Pers. i 54. *scis comitem horridulum trita donare lacerna.* **48, 49** : We throw away our labour. *quid arenae semina mandas?* Ov. Hor. v 115. *Laudet, qui sterili semina ponit humo,* Propert. ii 11 2.

53 : *publica,* "common-place," "common to all," as in Petron. 3 *sermonem habes non publici saporis.* So Ovid speaks of *publica sidera* the stars which shine for all, which are everybody's property. **54** : *deducere,* "to spin out." *tenui deducta poemata filo,* Hor. Epp. ii I 225. *Rectius Iliacum carmen*

deducis in actus, A. P. 129. In 132 of the same poem, *Nec circa vilem patulumque moraberis orbem; vilem patulumque* corresponds to *expositum* and *triviale* here, as Orellius observes *ad loc.* **55**: *triviale* like the in *triviis carmen.* Virg. Ecl. iii 26. Fr. "chanteur de carrefour." **58**: *cupidus silvarum.* Compare Tac. de. Orat. 9 and 12 where *nemora et luci* are spoken of as the resort of poets; and the passages are remarkable, as having served to identify the author of the treatise. Compare Pliny to Tacitus Epp. ix 10. This passage recalls one in Ovid. Trist. i 1, which was, I think, in Juvenal's mind, *Carmina proveniunt animo deducta sereno . . . Carmina secessum scribentis et otia quaerunt . . . Carminibus metus omnis abest;* and compare with 69–71, *Da mihi Maeoniden, et tot circumspice casus, ingenium tantis excidet omne malis.* **62**: *satur—Euoe*, quoted by Sidon. Apoll. Epp. 3. *Euoe!* the allusion is to Hor. Od. ii 19: *Euoe! parce Liber, Parce gravi metuende thyrso.* **63**: sqq. Mart. i 108, 3 4. **64**: *dominis Cirrhae Nysaeque*, Apollo and Bacchus, xiii 79. *Quid tibi cum Cirrha?* "Why continue to write poetry?" Mart. i 77. The whole epigram should be read. **66**: sqq. The reference is to the Aeneid, of which Juvenal was a great admirer. The Rutulian is Turnus, and Erinnys is Alecto, whom Juno sent to inflame his jealousy against Aeneas. The Furies (of whom she was one) were represented with snakes in their hair, and are so described by Aeschylus in the Eumenides, *geminos erexit crinibus angues*, Virg. Aen. vii 450. *nec de lod. par. att.* may mean "inspired with divine awe about something higher than buying a blanket." **70**: *caderent*, "would have fallen." Mr. Simcox gives (from Madvig) several examples of the use of the imperfect in this way, *Non tam facile opes Carthaginis concidissent nisi illud receptaculum classibus nostris pateret*, Cic. in Verr. ii 1,—"Carthage would not have fallen so easily if we had not had Sicily open to our fleets." *Persas Indosque aliasque si Alexander adjunxisset gentes, impedimentum magis quam auxilium traheret*, Liv. ix 19,—"If Alexander had enrolled these tribes, he would have had more burden to drag than help." The present is similarly used in such a phrase as *Num tu igitur Opimium, si tum esses, temerarium civem aut crudelem putes*, Cic. Phil. viii 4 (also quoted). A good example, twice repeated, may be added from Virg.

Æn. iii 186. *Sed quis ad Hesperiae venturos littora Teucros Crederet, aut quem tum vates Cassandra moveret,* cf. Zumpt. § 258; and there are instances in Juvenal, *et tamen alter, quis comes utilior, si . . . honestum afferre liceret consilium,* iv 84. *quid faceret plus aegrotante viro,* vi 388. *ut te conciperet,* "that one should have conceived you," viii 42. *si muniret,* "if he had," &c., viii 248, vii 211. *et cui non tunc eliceret risum.* In this idiom, the mind is thrown back to the time indicated by the first clause. It is an idiom common to all European languages. **72**: *Rubrenus Lappa,* some small playwright unknown. To keep himself alive, while writing his "Atreus," he is represented as having to pawn his *alveolos,* v 88, and his cloak. **74**: The poor rich man whom he calls *Numitor,* viii 93, cannot afford to make a present to his starving friend, the poet; but he can afford to make presents to his mistress, and to purchase a tame lion, &c. A tame lion would cost more than a wild one, and this may give the force of *jam.*

79: *Lucanus.* The poet Lucan had long been dead when this Satire was written, but his name is used as an illustration. "It is all very well for rich poets, like Lucan, to talk about fame, at ease in their splendid villas, but what would fame be to poor devils who have nothing else?" Lucan inherited a large fortune from his father, who was a *procurator,* or agent for the imperial revenues. *marmoreis in hortis,* i 12, note. **80**: sqq. Of *Serranus* we know nothing. Martial mentions a person of the same name, iv 37 3, as being in debt. *Saleius* is *Saleius Bassus,* an epic poet, mentioned in Tacitus de Orator. cs. 5 9; and by Quintilian, Inst. Or. x 1, who speaks of his *vehemens et poeticum ingenium.* **82**: Statius appears to have recited portions of his "Thebais" before publishing them. This seems to have been usual, i 1, note. Pliny speaks of one who *librum recitaret publicaretque in quo Rusticum insectatur,* Epp. i 5, Epp. 2 10; and so of Silius Italicus, Epp. iii 7. Statius himself confirms what Juvenal here says of the popularity of his "readings," *Hei mihi, sed coetus solitos si forte ciebo, Et mea Romulei venient ad carmina patres,* &c., Silv. v 2 160. **83**: *urbem,* "the town" for "the best literary society of the town," which can, of course, alone be meant—a little out of Juvenal's usual turn of thought. **86**: *fregit subsellia.*

Compare i 13. **87**: *Paridi*, vi 87, note. With regard to the following passage, see Introduction p. 206, &c. *intactam Agaven* must mean his play of "Agave" which had never been acted. We have the same word in the same sense in Statius, *Quaerit Hymen thalamis intactum dicere carmen*, Silv. 1 2 238. *Pieridum flores, intactaque carmina discens*, Id. iii 1 67. *voc. juc* may, or may not, refer to the voice of Statius being a particularly pleasant one. Probably it only means "the welcome voice," in allusion to his poems. **87**: Statius, then, sells his play, but does not seem able to sell his poem. Here I presume the mention of Paris to have suggested the lines which the poet had long before written on that personage (viz. 88–92, see "Introduction"), and which he accordingly inserted. These lines were supposed to reflect on some favourite actor of the day—not necessarily of the same name: the term *figurate* in Suet. life would rather convey the contrary —and got the author into trouble. **89**: Originally no one, as a rule, could be a tribune of the soldiers who had not been ten years in the infantry or five in the cavalry. Augustus introduced the practice of giving "commissions," as we should call it. In order that a greater number of persons might be obliged, the post was frequently conferred for six months only. It is to this that Juvenal alludes; and Pliny, Epp. iv 4, *Hunc rogo semestri tribunatu splendidiorem facias.* The *auro* is the gold ring which formed one of their insignia, Dict. G. and R. Ant. "Exercitus." We have seen that the pay of the tribunes was considerable, iii 132. **90, 91**: The Camerini were a distinguished family of the Sulpicia gens, and are again mentioned at viii 38. One of the Bareae was mentioned at iii 116. **92**: *Pelopea, Philomela*, plays so named. **93**: *Haud invideas* is, "don't be angry with him (not 'don't envy him'), what else is he to do? There are no Maecenases nowadays." *pulpita*, "the boards," "les planches," iii 174. *Aeschylus et modicis instravit pulpita tignis*, Hor. A. P. 279. Literally, a stage made of boards put together; hence sometimes used in our sense of "a platform," Hor. Epp. i 19 40; Mart. i 77 13. **94**: *Maecenas. Sint Maecenates, non deerunt Flacce Marones*, Mart. viii 56 5. *Proculeius*, Hor. Od. ii. 2 5. *Fabius*, Fabius Maximus, the patron of

Ovid. *Cotta*, whom the same poet calls *Pieridum lumen praesidiumque fori. Lentulus.* P. Corn. Lentulus Spinther, who was the cause of Cicero's being recalled from banishment, and to whom the great orator addresses nine letters. **97**: *Pallere.* Paleness was supposed to be a characteristic of poets. Horace says of his imitators, *quodsi Pallerem casu, biberent exsangue cuminum*, Epp.; 19 18, and Mart. vii 4, *esset cum mali coloris, Versus scribere coepit Oppianus.* He thought his pallor indicated that he was a poet, and set to work, accordingly, to scribble verses. *pallebat, scribebat*, Plin. Epp. vi 2 Pers. v 62. It rather represents the *sallowness* of complexion, which would be produced by confinement, the Greek ὠχρὸς, χλωρός. *Quantum saepe magis fulgore expalluit auri.* Catull. 64 100, *Hospes inaurata pallidior statua*, Id. 81 4; Mart. ix 62 3. Heyne remarks on Virg. Æn. ii 47 that the paleness of Southern Europeans is yellow. *vinum . . . Decembri, i.e.*, to abstain from the enjoyments of the Saturnalia, when great license was allowed; *age, libertate Decembri utere*, Hor. Sat. ii 7 4. So Mart., xiii 1, speaks of *ebria bruma. Postulat ecce novos ebria bruma sales.* Even lawyers took a holiday during that festive season (the courts being closed). Martial writes to one of them, when sending a copy of his book, *Otia dum medius praestat tibi parva December*, &c., vii 28. Cf. Plin. Epp. ii 17, from which it appears that, though he himself did not take a holiday during the Saturnalia (indeed he was in the habit of reading, when being shampooed after the bath, and even when going out boar-hunting), he allowed full license to his household.

100: *oblita modi pagina*, vi 657 658, note. The quantity of paper which these people will have to use for their enormous tomes will be ruinous. *Omnibus* may go with *damnosa* "a plague to the readers as well as the author," in which case it will mean "for every one." **104**: *acta legenti*, ii 136, note. In Petron. 53, there is an *actuarius*, or historiographer, who reads, at Trimalchio's supper, a kind of burlesque on the Acta Diurna. But here the meaning is, "What is the result of all your pains? People very much prefer the daily newspapers to your histories! A man would get more by reading the former than by writing the latter."

106, *lecto*, "the couch," not "the bed." *Mollierant animos lectus et umbra meos*, Ov. Am. i 9 42. **108**: *magna sonant. magna sonabit, Cornua quod vincatque tubas*, Hor. Sat. i 6 43 (according to one reading). *grande sonat*, Juv. vi 517. *Os magna sonaturum*, Hor. **108–112**: The meaning is that they come out very strong in the speaking line if their client, the creditor (as we should say, the plaintiff), in the action is there to listen to them; or if a client, showing greater eagerness than one who merely listens, should nudge them in the side, fearful of losing his money. Madvig makes *creditor* the lawyer's creditor. **110**: *nomen*, "a debt." For a full explanation of the technical use of the word, cf. a learned note by Long on Cic. Verr. Act. ii lib 1 c 38. He comes to sue, as we should say, "upon a doubtful security," "a doubtful entry." **112**: *conspuitur* means simply "is spluttered over." Quintilian mentions among the faults of a bad speaker, *exspuere crebro . . . et oris humore proximos spargere*, xi 1, and that is the sense here. Mr. Simcox has a note, "For fear their fictitious prosperity should provoke Nemesis," adopting, as usual, where he does not invent, a most out-of-the-way rendering. **113**: *hinc, parte alia*. So *inde, alia parte*, vi 436 437. Compare with these lines Mart. x 74 5 6, x 76 8 9. *russati Lacernae*. The drivers were divided into four parties, distinguished by their respective colours, *russata, alba, prasina, veneta*, cf. xi 198. *De prasino conviva meus venetoque loquatur*, Mart. x 48. **115**: A parody on Ov. Met. xiii 1 sqq. *Consedere duces, et vulgi stante corona Surgit ad hos clipei dominus septemplicis Ajax*, where the scene described is the contest between Ajax and Ulysses for the armour of Achilles. Here the lawyer is called Ajax, and he is supposed to be defending one who is claimed as a slave, before the Judices, among whom perhaps there is a neatherd, cf. "Judices, Judicium," in Dict. G. and R. Ant. *sedere* is the proper word for judges, as "to take one's seat" with us. *Judex inter illos sedit simius*, Phaedr. *posita judex sedet Aeacus urna*, Propert. *ne ejus rei causa sedisse videretur*, Livy iii 46. **119**: Lawyers, when they had gained an important cause, suspended palm-branches over their doors, as at weddings laurels, and probably other evergreens and flowers,

were hung up, vi 79. *Sic fora mirentur, sic te Palatia laudent Excolat et geminas plurima palma fores*, Mart. vii 28. Here the poor lawyer living in a garret is supposed to decorate his stairs, *scalae*, in the same manner, that his neighbours, and the rare clients who come to his chambers, may be made aware of his triumph. **119**: *siccus petasunculus*, a small *petaso*, which was the same as a *perna*, πετασων ἣν πέρναν καλοῦσι, Athen. Deipn., a flitch of bacon, dried from being kept so long; what Martial calls *dubius petaso*, iii 77 6. The same poet has an epigram on the flitch of bacon, which he classes among the presents sent to strangers and guests, *Xenia*. *Musteus est: propera caros nec differ amicos Nam mihi cum vetulo sit petasone nihil*, xiii 55. It would consequently be a likely object to be sent, as a complimentary fee, to a poor lawyer. **120**: *Afrorum epimenia*, the monthly allowance of black slaves such as we have mentioned in v 52 sqq.; *bulbi*, "onions," are expressly mentioned by Martial as among presents sent at the feast of the Saturnalia (very much after the fashion of our Christmas presents) to poor lawyers, iv 46 11. The whole of the epigram should be read in connection with the text. *vinum Tiberi devectum*, *i.e.*, from the north, of inferior quality. **122**: The Lex Cincia (cf. Dict. G. and R. Ant.) prevented an advocate from taking a fee. In the time of Claudius, he was, however, allowed to receive ten sestertia, something like £80. In the reign of Trajan, *i.e.*, in Juvenal's day, a senatus consultum was passed, compelling parties to suits to declare on oath that they had paid nothing to their advocates, who were, however, allowed to receive as much as ten sestertia, after the decision of the cause. This senatus consultum appears to have created great surprise, Plin. Epp. v 21; and such laws as these were probably constantly evaded. An *aureus*, twenty-five denarii, in value about a Napoleon. **123**: Even from this slender fee must be deducted what you have stipulated to pay your legal assistants. The *pragmatici* were a lower kind of practitioner, who helped the advocate, who "devilled" for him. They were also called *tabelliones*, whence the French "tabellions" still applied to village notaries. Compare Cic. de Or. i 45, *Ut apud Graecos infimi homines, mercedula adducti, ministros se praebent in judiciis ora-*

toribus, ii qui apud illos πραγματικοὶ vocantur. Quint. iii 6; Mart. xii 72 6. **124**: sqq. *Aemilius* is any lawyer of great family. Martial speaks of an equestrian statue being put up in honour of a lawyer, *Tam grave percussis incudibus aera resultant Causidicum medio cum faber aptat equo*, ix 69; *in vestibulis*, i 132. *lusca* means here, I think, "with one eye shut; taking aim." Macleane says, "I do not think a statue was ever seen, with one eye shut." True; nor perhaps that of a lawyer, aiming a spear. The whole thing is imaginary, and the poet, by the introduction of *lusca*, throws an additional air of ridicule over it. Others render "wall-eyed" or "blind," which is very feeble.

129: *Pedo* is unknown. A man of that name is twice mentioned by Martial, v 5, x 19, but he seems to have been a poet. *conturb.* the full expression seems to have been *conturb. rationes. Matho* we had at i 32, where he was represented as prosperous, and going about in great self-contentment, in his bran new litter. He is mentioned again incidentally at xi 34. *Tongilli.* There is a Tongilius mentioned by Mart. ii 40, but in a different connection. He is a glutton. *rhinocerote*, "an oil-flask, made of a rhinoceros-horn." *Gestavit modo fronte me juvencus, Verum rhinocerota me putabis*, Mart. xiv 52. **131**: *vexat*, i 100. In the last Satire 419 sqq., we had a lady who went to the baths with a great crowd of attendants. **133**: Martial has a good epigram, ix 60, on a man who goes about inspecting young slaves, and *murrina* and other costly objects, to give himself consequence and with no intention of buying. Here the lawyer buys, by way of advertising himself, and gets ruined in consequence. **134**: *stlataria.* The meaning is very doubtful. It is derived by Festus from *stlata, genus navigii latum magis quam altum.* The scholiast renders *illecebrosa*, "deceptive," "decoying," perhaps taking *stlata*, as some do, for a piratical craft, and quotes Ennius, *Et melior navis quam quae stlataria portat.* The word, if the reading be correct, occurs again in Petron. 108, but if it be received there, the sense is as doubtful as it is in this place. **135**: *utile* "answers their purpose," as above, 96, ix 27. *vendit*, "puffs him," "gets him his price," "le fait valoir." *se peregrinis vendere muneribus*, Propert. i 2 4, so

venditare and *venditatio* in Cic. **136** : *amethystina*, "a violet-coloured cloak." Martial, on a person who assumed the outward appearance of wealth, while he could not pay for his supper, writes of him as one *Amethystinatus media qui secat septa*, ii 57. **138** : This is a verse which, with Heinrich, Ribbeck and others, must be pronounced spurious, if the fact of a verse being out of place is to form a sufficient reason for rejecting it. **141** : sqq. These hangers-on accompanied the pleader to the courts and applauded him in his discourse, as Pliny amusingly sets forth, Epp. ii 14. *Paulus, Cossus, Basilus*, are poor lawyers. There is a Basilus mentioned at x 222. **146** : When is poor Basilus granted the opportunity of exhibiting his talents in court and producing the weeping relatives of his client, to soften the judges? This was usual; *ex. gr.* in each of the three orations for Sulla, Flaccus and Sestius, Cicero produces before the court his client's son. And the client would endeavour to excite compassion in his own person, xv 135–137. **148, 149** : Africa and Gaul were supposed to be particularly litigious, xv 111.

150 : sqq. *Declamare*, Hor. Epp. i 2 2; Pers. iii 44, sqq. *ferrea*, i 31. *Vettius Valens* is mentioned by Pliny, H. N. xxix 1, as a physician and professor of eloquence. **152, 153** : Observe the onomatopoeia in *eadem . . . eadem . . . isdem*. *cantare* is here to recite in the sing-song drawling tone which often accompanies such recitations. *Quodcumque ex his vitiis magis tulerim, quam quo nunc maxime laboratur in causis omnibus, scholisque; cantandi*, Quint. Or. xi 3. Aul. Gellius speaks of subjects *in scholis decantata*, Praefat. in Noct. Att. *Haec et talia pueris decantata*, Macrob. Sat. v 2. See note to Sat. i 3. **154** : *crambe repetita*. The scholiast says, δὶς κράμβη θάνατος, "two helps of cabbage are fatal," was an old proverb. **155** : *color*, vi 280. The English have (or had) *colour* "express and implied" in their pleadings. *diversa parte*, "from the opposite side;" *diversis partibus arma damus*, Ov. Rem. Am. 50. **158** : *Mercedem appellas? quid enim scio?* Compare Cic. Phil. ii 17 *At quanta merces rhetori est data! . . . ut tanta mercede nihil sapere disceres.* **159** : *laeva in parte mamillae*, "in his heart." *pectore laevo.* Pers. ii 53.

cor animalibus ceteris in medio pectore est, homini tantum infra laevam papillam, Plin. H. N. xi 37; and the heart was supposed to be the seat of the understanding, *aliis cor ipsum animus videtur: ex quo excordes, vecordes, concordesque dicuntur*, Cic. Tusc. Q i. 9. The Arcadians were celebrated for their simplicity, Pers. iii 9. **161**: *dirus Hannibal* is borrowed from Horace. Quintilian, viii 2, appears to think the epithet so applied a somewhat bold, but happy one; why, I do not know. It is here used jocularly. **163**: As to these storms which prevented Hannibal from engaging the Roman army, see Livy xxvi 11. The popular idea, embodied in the same historian, xxii 51, that Hannibal after Cannae lost the decisive opportunity of marching upon Rome, is combated by Mommsen with considerable plausibility: "He knew Rome better than the simpletons who, in ancient and modern times, have fancied that he might have terminated the struggle by a march on the enemy's capital. Modern warfare, it is true, decides a war on the field of battle; but, in ancient times, when the system of attacking fortresses was far less developed than the system of defence, the most complete success in the field was on numberless occasions neutralised by the resistance of the walls of the capitals," Bk. 3, c. 6, Dickson's translation. *Madidas a tempestate* "drenched with tempest," Evans; but *madidas tempestate* would be the usual construction for this sense. The meaning here is "he wheels his soaking troops away from the storm," *a tempestate.* **166**: sqq. This is what all these sophists who are refused payment (157 158) cry out, and they have to undertake real law-suits in order to get their fees (below 228 229), laying aside their fictitious disputations about ravishers and poisonings, and Jasons, and Theseuses, and Peliases. Therefore (since they must meet with all these difficulties) my advice to them would be to throw up their profession altogether, and take to a different line, instead of going down to fight in the courts (*ad pugnam*), lest the value of a "ticket for corn" should be thrown away. They would get this as poor citizens, in any case; and a successful verdict will bring in no more (*or* by being absent at the court they might lose their corn-ticket). I cannot agree with Macleane "that they give up teaching, and go and

practise in the courts." We have done with lawyers altogether, and are on the subject of those who teach youth; moreover it is very difficult to get such a sense out of the passage. *raptore relicto*, &c., are topics for declamation such as would be furnished by Paris, Medea, Jason, old Pelias, whose story is related by Ovid, Met. vii, &c.; and see M. Seneca, Controv. iii 23; Quintil. Declam. 349, &c. *jam veteres*, the *jam* is emphatic, as *jam senior*, vi 215, *jam senis*, viii 153. **171**: *sibi dabit ipse rudem*, vi 113, note. Here the expression is used metaphorically, as in Hor. Epp. i 1, *Spectatum satis et donatum jam rude quaeris Maecenas, iterum antiquo me includere ludo*, and in Mart. iii 36, *Hoc merui Fabiane toga tritaque meaque Ut nondum credas me meruisse rudem? i.e.*, to have merited my discharge from the duty of attending upon you. These metaphors from the arena are common in the Roman authors, xvi 47. Even in Seneca, the only Roman writer who expresses his abhorrence of the amphitheatre, terms taken from the national pastime are exceedingly frequent, *exerceamur ad palum*, Epp. 18; and again Epp. 100 117, &c., &c. **173**: *qui descendit ad pugnam*, " he that is for going down and fighting in the courts." *descendere* is the proper word for going to plead, Plin. Epp. v 21. *Hodie non descendit Antonius.* Cic. Phil. ii 6. *rhetorica umbra.* We have had *Pieria in umbra*, 8, and *genus ignavum quod lecto gaudet et umbra*, 105. I do not see why the same sense should not be given to the word here, "the retirement in which they have practised the rhetorical art;" and so Ruperti takes it. Macleane says it means "a school," and refers to Forcellini; but none of the examples quoted by Forcellini are satisfactory. *vacua tonsoris in umbra*, Hor. Epp. i 7 50, for example, means "in the *shade* of a barber's shop," shops, among the Romans, being protected from hot weather by awnings, curtains, &c. M. Seneca says of those who leave scholastic declamations for the Forum, *velut ex umbroso et obscuro prodeuntes loco clarae lucis fulgor obcaecat, sic istos a scholis in forum transeuntes omnia tamquam nova et inusitata perturbant*, Procm. Controv. iv. *Tu, quamquam non ante forum legesque severas Passus, sed tacita studiorum occultus in umbra*, &c., Stat. Silv. v 2 104. *umbraticus doctor*, Petron. 2. **174**: *pereat*, "should be thrown away," "wasted;"

donabitur ergo Ne pereat, iv 56, note. Below, 222 225. *vilis tessera frumenti.* This was a ticket enabling the holder to obtain a small quantity of corn either gratuitously or on payment of a small price. This distribution was made every month in the time of Augustus, and it seems probable that the same regulation existed, when Juvenal wrote: also that every citizen was entitled to one, with the exception of senators, cf. Dict. G. and R. Ant. "Leges frumentariae."

176, 177: *Chrysogonus* and *Pollio* are both musicians, vi 74, vi 387; Mart. iv 61 9. *scindens* must mean "reviling," "cutting up," in which sense *proscindere* is often used. Another reading (apparently suggested by Jahn, for neither his nor Ruperti's MSS. give any account of it) is *scindes,* "when you learn what these music masters make, you will tear up the treatise of Theodorus." *Theodorus,* a rhetorician. **176**: Popular artists of all kinds must have made large fortunes at Rome. Roscius the actor, we are told by Pliny, made about £4000 a year, H. N. vii 39 (not £400,000, as the Dict. G. and R. Biog., "Roscius," takes it: a sum which would probably have been about a fifth of the national revenue of his day, and which is incredible). **178**: sqq. These men are in a very different position from the poor teachers of rhetoric. They make large fortunes, and are able to build splendid baths, and covered drives, and dining-rooms, for different seasons of the year, and have first-rate cooks. *sexcentis,* six hundred sestertia, or 600,000 sesterii; in English about £4650, at this time. *porticus in qua gestetur,* "a covered drive," *i.q., gestatio,* Plin. Epp. i 3. *spargatque.* Ruperti would prefer *ve.* The change is unnecessary. "Is he to wait till it has left off raining, and then go out and get splashed with mud?" *mulae.* Martial, speaking of his improved condition, says *vehimurque mulis non ut ante conductis,* viii 61. Mules, the offspring of a he-ass and a mare, were in great request by the wealthy Romans, *pluris mula est quam domus empta tibi,* Mart. iii 62, Sen. Epp. 123. Pliny says that Poppaea, the wife of Nero, had hers shod with gold, H. N. xxxiii 11. *Numidarum columnis,* made of marble brought from Africa. *algentem . . . solem.* Compare Hor. Od. ii 15 14-16, *nulla decempedes Metata privatis opacam Porticus excipiebat Arcton,* and the passages quoted by Orell., to

which add Pliny's description of his villa, ii 17. The rich had summer and winter dining-rooms, as appears from these passages, and compare the pretty lines in Statius Silv. ii 2 45 sqq., *haec domus ortus Aspicit, et Phoebi tenerum jubar; illa cadentem Detinet, exactamque negat dimittere lucem.*

186: sqq. Meanwhile such a man as Quintilian will receive only fifteen guineas for a course. But you tell me Quintilian is rich and possesses large estates. That may be, but it only shows he is a lucky fellow and was born under a fortunate star. Luck will do anything for a man. Ventidius and Tullius may be cited as similar examples. But these lucky fellows are extremely rare. Most people gain very little by the professorial chair. Look at Thrasymachus and Secundus Carinas—look at Socrates himself! The pecuniary circumstances of Quintilian have given rise to a great deal of discussion. Here we have him represented as a large landed proprietor, and there is reason to suppose that he received a salary of some seven hundred a year from the State for teaching rhetoric, Suet. Vesp. 18. On the other hand, the younger Pliny, who had been his pupil, sends him a present of about £400 English, towards the outfit of his daughter, on her marriage, Epp. vi 32. (There are other difficulties connected with this epistle, for which and for fuller details, the reader should consult the article "Quintilianus," in Dict. G. and R. Biog.) Pliny speaks at the same time of his moderate means. But what would appear wealth to a poor poet like Juvenal would seem but a competency to a wealthy and generous nobleman like Pliny. Moreover, in the epistle above quoted, the donor apologises for not having sent a larger sum, as he could only hope to induce Quintilian to accept anything by the smallness of his offering. "The man to whom this could be said must be a rich man," as Macleane well observes, "though Pliny was much richer." It may be added that fifteen guineas fee from every pupil—and this it seems is what is meant in this passage of Juvenal—would make up a very handsome income, when added to his State salary, for a man who, like Quintilian, had many pupils. Music-masters may have got a great deal more; still this was something. **187**: *Ut multum,*

"and a large fee too," as we should say. *constabit*, the future, as constantly in this sense, iii 238 below 201, &c. **189**: *novus* is here equivalent to *mirandus*, Serv. ad Virg. Ecl. iii 86, where the word is similarly used. **190**: *transi*, "pass over," as vi 602, &c. **192**: *appositam . . . alutae*, "he has attained the dignity of a senator." Senators wore a black leather shoe, or half-boot, *nigra aluta*, hence *mutavit calceos* of a man created a senator, Cic. Phil. xiii 13. *nigris medium impediit crus Pellibus et latum demisit pectore clavum*, Hor. Sat. i 6 27. On the front part of this boot was an ornament in the shape of a C or half-moon, *luna*, because the original number of senators was a hundred, and other reasons have been given. The ornament appears to have been made of silver or ivory. Martial, speaking of Spain, says *Lunata nusquam pellis et nusquam toga*, *i.e.*, there are no nobles and no clients there, i 50 31, and again *Non extrema* (or *hesterna*) *sedet lunata lingula planta*. *Primaque patricia clausit vestigia luna*, Stat. Silv. v 2 28. *Coccina non laesum cingit aluta pedem*, Mart. ii 29, from which, and other passages, it appears that scarlet as well as black shoes were worn by senators. *aluta*, from *alumen*, properly leather steeped in alum, to soften it. **197, 198**: These lines very closely resemble a speech attributed by Pliny to Licinianus, a banished praetor, who set up a school in Sicily, *Quos tibi ludos Fortuna facis! Facis enim ex professoribus senatores, ex senatoribus professores*, Epp. iv 11, "a sarcasm so bitter and pungent," Pliny, in his absurd style of laudation, goes on to say, "that I fancy he must have adopted the profession, in order to give vent to it." Quintilian was named consul, through the influence of Flavius Clemens, to whose sons he was tutor, but never exercised the office. Ausonius, the poet, was afterwards made consul by his pupil Gratian, thus, as Bayle remarks, literally verifying these words of Juvenal. *Ventidius* is P. Ventidius Bassus, consul B.C. 43. When a child he had been carried captive along with his mother in a triumph of Cn. Pompeius Strabo, father of the great Pompey. He afterwards let out mules and carriages, and becoming known to and employed by J. Caesar, rose to distinction as a commander, and had a triumph B.C. 38. He is referred to by Plin. H. N. vii 43, as an instance of the

mutations of fortune. *Tullius* is King Servius Tullius, son of a female slave, viii 259, *servis regna* applies to him; *captivis triumphos* to Ventidius.

202: cf. vi 165, Pers. i 46. **203**: *cathedra*, is here the professorial chair, as in Mart. i 77 14, who applies the same epithet to it, *sterilis*; it produced little or nothing to its occupants. *circum pulpita nostra Et steriles cathedras basia sola crepant*, "the chairs of us poetical professors." **204**: *Thrasymachus*, of Chalcedon, a sophist mentioned by Plato and introduced personally in the Politeia. His end is unknown. The scholiast says, he hanged himself, but this is probably invented to explain this passage. *Secundus Carinas* or *Carrinas* was banished by Caligula for a rhetorical declamation against tyrants, Dio. lix 20; but he seems to have returned, for we find him employed by Nero, Tac. Ann. xv 45 (at least, it is probable that the same person is meant). *hunc* is Socrates. **207**: After *Di* understand *date.* That the earth might lie light on those whom they loved was a common prayer of the ancients, sometimes indicated by the letters S.T.T.L., *sit tibi terra levis*, on tombs. A similar sentiment occurs in the Vedic hymns. *Ut mihi non ullo pondere terra foret*, Propert. i 17 24. The general sentiment is that of Quintilian, *Discipulos . . . moneo ut preceptores suos non minus quam ipsa studia ament, et parentes eos non quidem corporum sed mentium esse credant.* **210**: Achilles submitted to his tutor Chiron the centaur, notwithstanding his horse's tail, which he might have been pardoned for laughing at. The tail of Chiron was a real one, but there may be an allusion to the trick, common among schoolboys then as now, of fixing a paper or other tail behind the back of their master, or schoolmate, for the sake of making fun of them. Horace refers to this in Sat. ii 3 51, sqq., *hoc te Crede modo insanum nihilo ut sapientior ille Qui te deridet, caudam trahat.* "Solent enim pueri deridentes nescientibus a tergo caudam suspendere ut, velut pecus, caudam trahant," Scholiast; like the three other ways of playing tricks behind one's back mentioned in Pers. i. Juvenal says "that was a tail to make one laugh, if you like." Achilles was removed from under Chiron's care at nine years of age, according to the legend, but this must not be pressed. He was sufficiently *grandis* to

have a son (Pyrrhus) shortly afterwards. Some put no note of interrogation at the end of the sentence, and a comma after *montibus.* The meaning, then, will be "not being moved to laughter, in those days, by the tail," &c. **214** : The scholiast says this *Rufus* was a Gaul; and he is here described as calling Cicero an Allobrogian, Savoyard, *i.e.*, a barbarian. Some commentators identify him with a certain Satrius Rufus described in one of Pliny's epistles, in the language of a third party, as *Satrius Rufus cui est cum Cicerone aemulatio et qui contentus non est eloquentia seculi nostri;* Plin. Epp. i 5; again ix 13; but he was an orator, and quite a different person. And as *et cui est* is the probable reading in the above passage, the latter part of it applies to the younger Pliny himself, as the context shows. "I *am* anxious to try and rival Cicero as my best model," &c., he says directly afterwards. Even if *cui* be read, there is nothing to connect the two men of the name of Rufus in these passages.

215 : *Enceladus* is unknown. *Palaemon* was mentioned at vi 452. He was a celebrated grammarian in the time of Tiberius and Claudius. Suetonius gives a very bad account of him, and, moreover, describes him as having made a great deal of money, de Gramm. Illust. 23. The Life of Persius (Suet.) mentions him as having given lessons to that poet; and the scholiast says he taught Quintilian. He is mentioned also by Quintil. Inst. Or. i 4. The name stands for any teacher of grammar. **217** : *autem,* "after all," as in Virgil, *Sed quid ego haec autem nequidquam ingrata revolvo?* *aera* is used by Horace for tuition money. *Laevo suspensi loculos tabulamque lacerto, Ibant octonis referentes Idibus aera,* Sat. i 6 74 75. **218** : *Acoenonetus,* from the Greek ἀκοινώνητος, "unsociable," "selfish," "refusing to participate," in which sense it appears to be used here. Pliny uses the same word, Ep. iii 9, *Habet quidem gloria, in studiis praesertim, quiddam ἀκοινώνητον.* Some read Acoenonoetus from ἀκοινονόητος, "wanting in sense." Aul. Gell. xii 12, a barbarism; the true reading there is as here. **219** : *qui dispensat,* "the steward who has charge of the strong box," i 91 92. I do not think, with Macleane, that the pedgaogue is meant, "who here acts as paymaster." More than one person has a nibble at the fee before it

reaches the poor teacher of grammar. *Et* seems to show this, and besides, the sense is much stronger. **221**: The *institor*, or commercial traveller, seems to have been looked down upon. *Institor heu noctes quas mihi non dat, habet*, Ov. Rem. Am. 306; Hor. Od. iii 6 30. **222**: *Dummodo non pereat*, "provided it is not entirely thrown away," "wasted," i 18, note. The subject to *pereat* is *quod sedisti*, &c. **225**: The boys, it seems, carried their lanterns with them. Horace and Virgil were by this time class-books, as Horace foresaw that his works would one day become, *Hoc quoque te manet ut pueris elementa docentem Occupet extremis in vicis balba senectus*, Epp. i 20 17. **226, 227**: *Flaccus, Maro*. Friedländer takes these as *busts* which are blackened by the smoke, vol iv, pp. 9 10, Fr. ed. **228**: *tamen* means, "and yet with all this." This must be one of the poet's usual exaggerations. See note to 166, sqq. Compare Ov. Fast. iii 829. *sed vos*, and what follows, is, of course, ironical. **231**: *nec historias sciat omnes*, vi 450. **233–243**: *Phoebi balnea*. Where the baths of Phoebus were we do not know. It is curious to see commentators handling a passage in which Juvenal ridicules persons who ask such silly questions as, "Who was Anchises' nurse?" "Who was the step-mother of Archemorus?" and themselves plunging into an inquiry as to the same questions. These mythical personages were unknown then, and they are unknown now. The allusion in the second query is to *Archemorum thalamos ausum incestare novercae*, Aen. x 389, where *Anchemolum* is another reading, as *Anchemoli* here. Juvenal may have had in his mind questions which he heard put after the recitations of Statius, in whose Thebaid the name frequently occurs. **237, 238**: *ut mores . . . facit. Qualiter artificis victurae pollice cerae Accipiunt formas*, Stat. Achill. i 332 3. Prof. Conington thinks this is an imitation of Pers. v 40. *Acestes, aevi maturus*, Aen. v 73, was the Sicilian king who showed hospitality to Aeneas and his followers (*Phrygibus*). Seutonius describes Tiberius as delighting to put just this kind of question to grammarians, *Quae mater Hecubae? quod Achilli nomen inter virgines fuisset? quid Sirenes cantare sint solitae?* Tiber. 70. *ne turpia ludant . . . trementes* alludes to dirty practices. The poet concludes: "Attend to all these

things; let this be your business," says the parent, "and when the time for your annual payment has arrived, you may expect to receive from me, for the services you have given my son for a whole year, as much as a popular performer gets by way of gratuity at the request of the people, for a single victory." The scholiast says this was five *aurei.* A successful charioteer would often get a great deal more, Mart. x 74 5, who speaks of Scorpus, a charioteer, carrying off, in a single hour, fifteen heavy bags of gold; but this would be from his admirers, or the produce of his own bets. Jockeys with us often receive similar fees. Here *victor* may be a gladiator as well as a charioteer. Compare Macrob. Saturn. i 12, *Hoc mense mercedes exsolvebant magistris, quas completus annus deberi fecit.*

INTRODUCTION TO SATIRE VIII.

THE poet asks of what use are lofty pedigrees and family images to a man who shows himself unworthy of his great ancestors. Virtue is the only nobility. Distinguish yourself by your character, and I am ready to acknowledge the nobleman. There is nothing in a great name.

It is all very well for some people to boast of their high connections, and to sneer at us, and sit at home and do nothing, while men of low origin are actively engaged in serving the State. Say, with regard to dumb animals, how do we judge them? We value the horse for his fleetness and the victories he has won, not for his pedigree. So, then, let these people go and do something on their own account before claiming our homage.

Do not lean therefore on the reputation of your ancestors, Ponticus. Be, yourself, upright in the discharge of a citizen's ordinary duties. If you become governor of a province, be distinguished for your clemency and justice, and avoid the plundering habits of some of our governors.

Some of these people, for all their nobility, turn amateur coachmen, and frequent low haunts by night, and do things which, in the case of a slave, would ensure his being sent to the bridewell. Others, when they are ruined, take to the stage; others to the arena. A noble spectacle!

Who would not prefer Seneca to Nero—a monster stained with every crime? Look at Catiline and Cethegus, men of lofty birth! Who saved the State from their vile machinations? The upstart Cicero. Look at the plebeian Decii, and the ploughman Marius, and the slave who revealed the conspiracy of the consul's own sons. Better be an Achilles, the son of a Thersites, than a Thersites the son of an Achilles.

After all, be your origin what it may, you can at the furthest only trace it up to the gang of ruffians whom Romulus gathered about him.

All that we can tell, with certainty, respecting the date of this Satire, is that it must have been written after A.D. 100; for in 128, Marius is again alluded to, and not a great number of years after, for *nuper* is the word used. It has been supposed that 51 alludes to Trajan's Armenian and Parthian wars, A.D. 114–116. If we use the term "*may* allude to," we shall be safe.

NOTES TO SATIRE VIII.

1: *Stemmata*, literally, "wreaths." The Romans seem not only to have had waxen masks, *imagines*, of their ancestors, Ov. Fast. i 591, which were carried in funeral processions, Polyb. vi 53, but also family-trees, resembling our own in form, on which were medallion portraits *pictos vultus*, 2; *imagines pictas*, Plin. H. N. xxxv 2, encircled by wreaths, running from one to another, *stemmata*, though the existence of a family tree, with portraits, has been disputed, and it has been asserted that the waxen images were connected with each other by threads, *lineis*, the whole group, when so disposed, being alone called a *stemma*. The above passage in Pliny, and another from Seneca, de Benef. iii 28, as well as Sueton. Nero 37, and Galba 2, will bear either interpretation, as also Mart. iv 40; cf. Becker, "Gallus," sc. ii, note, where other passages are given. I think it probable, however, that the Romans had family-trees like ours, the *tabula capax* of 6, and cf. 7, and Pers. iii 28. In either case, *stemmata* will mean "pedigrees," Mart. viii 6; Stat. Silv. iii 3 44. *Pontice.* Of Ponticus nothing further is known. He may be, according to the frequent usage of Juvenal, an imaginary personage. I am inclined to think his is a fancy name, perhaps adopted from Martial, whose poems were read as widely as the novels of Paul de Kock in Louis Philippe's time, long before this Satire was published, at any rate in its existing form. The latter poet addresses one Ponticus in many of his epigrams, *ex gr.*, *Hermogenes tantus mapparum, Pontice, fur est*, xii 29; where Ponticus seems to be brought in as a dactyl. comp. Mart. ii 23; i 2. **2**: *sanguine censeri*, "to be valued by the antiquity of your race," as 74, *censeri laude tuorum*, "to be valued by the renown of your ancestors." *Id in quoque optimum est cui nascitur, quo censetur*, Sen. Epp. 76. From Tac. Ann. iv

9, we learn that these pedigrees were sometimes carried back, as might be expected, to the mythical ages. *pictos vultus* will be either the painted faces on the family-tree, or family portraits generally, or the waxen masks above mentioned, which are also described by Polyb. vi 53, and referred to by Herodian (πρόσωπα, προσωπεῖα) cf. Schweighäuser's note on the former passage. At any rate, the meaning is "the portraits of his ancestors," in some form. **3, 4, 5**: *Aemilianos*, ii 154; *Curios*, ii 3; *Corvinum*, i 108; *Galbam*, ii 104, are put as so many illustrations of lofty descent. Galba is here an ancestor of the Emperor of that name. The Aemiliani standing in their chariots, must, I think, refer to triumphal statues, and *Curios*, &c., may also refer to statues, though they are usually taken as waxen images. It is clear that these wealthy Romans had both. A marble bust was to be seen standing on its pedestal in one of the houses at Pompeii when I was there, with indications of forming one of a series. *humerosque minorem*, "short of a head and shoulders," a Greek form, as *frontem minor truncam*, Sil. iii 42. I see no necessity for reading *humero*, as some do. *Curios jam dimidios.* Compare Mart. x 2 10. *dimidios Crispi equos*, where, certainly, statues are meant. Time had not spared these old effigies. **6**: *generis* is usually taken with *tabula*, *i.e.*, the genealogical table. It might, however, be taken with *fructus*. "What profit from ancestry in thus displaying on capacious roll?" &c. The first is better. The *tabula* would indeed have to be *capax*, if the genealogy was carried up to the heroes of antiquity and the gods; cf. note to 2. Suetonius relates of Galba, how *imperator vero etiam stemma in atrio proposuerit, quo paternam originem ad Pasiphaen Minois uxorem referret*, Galb. 2. **7**: This line is probably spurious. *virga* is taken by Heinrich as a broom, or besom, with which the busts were cleaned, but *multa* is hardly in keeping with this rendering. *multa virga* must mean "through many a branch," *i.e.*, of the ancestral tree, Pers. iii 28, *Stemmate quod Tusco ramum millesime ducis.* **8**: *Fumosos.* The family-tree would be liable to be blackened from the smoke of the *focus*, or fire-place, dedicated to the Lares of each family. This was always placed in the atrium, though in the time of the poet it is possible that the *focus*

had been removed from the *atrium* in great town-houses, cf. xii 86, note. Martial expressly speaks of *fumosa stemmata*, viii 6 3 (where *fumosa*, and not *furiosa*, is undoubtedly the correct reading), and Seneca, Epp. 44, *non facit nobilem atrium plenum fumosis imaginibus*, so Cic. in Pis. 1. *equitum . . . magistros*. Along with the Dictator there was always a Magister Equitum, who was named by the Dictator himself. The Magister, as his name implies, was originally at the head of the cavalry; the Dictator at the head of the legions or infantry, cf. Dict. G. and R. Ant. **9**: *coram Lepidis* and *ante Numantinos*, "in the presence of their effigies." The Lepidi, a branch of the Aemilia gens, filled many high offices of state in their time, cf. Dict. G. and R. Biog. Though held up here as examples of virtue, they appear to have included some very disgraceful characters among their number. *quo*, "to what purpose," as xiv 135. *sed quo divitias haec per tormenta coactas*, viii 142, note, and 144. **10**: *alea pernox*. So Capitolin. tells us of Verus, *fertur et nocte perpeti alea lusisse*, Ver. 4. **11**: *Numantinos*. Scipio Africanus the younger acquired the name of Numantinus after the capture of Numantia. The plural here, as often in Juvenal, is used, though only one person is meant. The idiom is very common in Latin, both in prose and verse, as well as in modern languages; *Omne tempus Clodios non omne Catones feret*, Sen. Epp. 97. *Sint Maecenates, non deerunt Flacce Marones*, Mart. viii 56 5. *si dormire incipis*, "if you don't go to sleep till." *quo*, "the hour at which."

13: The Fabia gens claimed a legendary descent from Hercules. The Ara Maxima, in or near the Forum Boarium, or Ox-market, was supposed, according to one tradition, to have been consecrated by Evander to Hercules, Virg. Aen. viii 271 272, according to another, it was built by Hercules himself, after killing Cacus. Q. Fabius Maximus Aemilianus, of this family, defeated the Allobroges, B.C. 121, from which exploit he received the name of Allobrogicus. *Fabius* means one of the family. *natus in Herculeo Lare*, with a dash of satire. **15**: *Euganea*, Liv. i 1. The Euganei, a people who originally occupied the whole of Venetia. The word is used here roughly. The wool of all this district was famous.

Mart., xiv 155, classes wool as follows: *Velleribus primis Appulia, Parma secundis Nobilis, Altinum tertia laudat ovis.* Altinum, a town of Venetia, would most nearly correspond to the district here alluded to. Martial says of a girl that she is *Agna Galeis mollior Phalantini,* v 37 2, in a complimentary sense. **16**: *Catina* (Catania) was at the foot of Aetna, and the stones thrown up by the volcano were no doubt used for rubbing the body, *Nam res mortifera est inimicus pumice levis,* ix 95. *Pumex in usu corporum levigandorum feminis, jam quidem et viris,* Plin. H. N. xxxvi 21. On this practice of the effeminate Romans, of smoothing the body with pumice-stone, &c., and pulling out the hairs, cf. Mart. ii 29 6, *Et splendent trito brachia vulsa pilo,* where *splendent* means "shine with friction," Juv. ii 12; Pers. iv 40. The two last passages explain *lumbum* here. Sueton. J. C. 45; Otho, 12. Lucilius enumerates all the processes to which the effeminate subjected themselves, *Rador, subvellor, desquamor, pumicor, ornor, Expolior, pingor,* Fr. vii 5; Plaut. Poen. i 2 10. **17**: *Squalentes,* "rugged," in contrast to the artificial smoothings of their degenerate descendants. *intonsi avi,* Tibull. ii 1 34. *traducit,* "dishonours," "exposes to contempt," ii 159, vii 16. Martial often uses the word in the same sense, i 54, &c. *traduci,* in this sense, means literally to be led along in public by way of disgrace. Sueton. uses it in its literal sense in Tit. 8, where, by the Emperor's orders, informers and suborners are scourged, *ac novissime traducti per Amphitheatri arenam,* previously to being sold as slaves. In some parts of Spain, it was the custom some years ago, and is perhaps still, to promenade a condemned malefactor through the town, previous to his execution, mounted on an ass. Hence metaphorically, as here, "brings disgrace upon." **17, 18**: *emptorque . . . gentem.* And, a convicted prisoner, brings disgrace upon his unhappy family, by having his image broken up. *frangenda imagine,* "the breaking up of his image." Busts and statues of those who had been found guilty of a capital crime, as treason, &c., were often delivered up to be destroyed by the executioner. So of Sejanus, *descendunt statuae restemque sequuntur,* x 58. *funestare* is properly to pollute with blood, as in Catull. 64, (*Theseus*) *tali*

mente Deae funestet seque suosque. **19, 20** : cf. vi 162 163, note. **21** : *Paulus, Cossus, Drusus.* "Be a Paulus, or a Cossus, or a Drusus, in moral character!" There is an emphasis here on *moribus.* A Paulus and Cossus are mentioned together in vii 144 145, in rather a contemptuous tone. There may have been a Drusus of the same stamp; and the meaning might be, "be a Paulus, &c., in something more than mere name." These are names of the Aemilian, Cornelian, and Livian gentes. What are the particular members of these families whom the poet holds up as examples, is a matter of doubt. He may have used the words generally for men of the old stamp. The two most distinguished of the Pauli were the consul who perished at Cannae, *animaeque magnae Prodigum Paulum superante Poeno,* Hor. Od. i 12; and his son. Juvenal had probably both of these in his mind. Drusus may mean Drusus the younger, brother of Tiberius, and father of Germanicus. But there were many eminent men of that name. **22** : *hos,* sc. *mores.* **23** : *virgas,* "the fasces," which were borne before the consuls. The occurrence of *virgas* here appears to have misled the scholiast, who translates *multa virga,* at 7, "multis fascibus, dignitate." **24** : *debes,* "you owe me," *i.e.,* "I am entitled to look for." *sanctus haberi,* &c., understand, *si* "if," *Graeculus esuriens in coelum jusseris, ibit,* iii 78. **26** : *Gaetulice.* Cossus (or Cneius) Cornelius Lentulus Gaetulicus, so called from his victory over the Gaetuli, is probably alluded to by the poet. **27** : *Silanus,* the name of several noble Roman families. It is evidently used here in a general sense. The Junii Silani are most probably glanced at, as they were connected with the Caesars by marriage, and might be proud of that circumstance, 72. **29, 30** : We are disposed to shout "Eureka" like the Egyptians. This is explained by Plin. H. N. viii 46. The superstitious Egyptians, for whom Juvenal had an especial contempt, worshipped their god Osiris, under the form of a live bull. When the animal grew old, he was drowned, under the notion that the Deity had left his body, to go and inhabit that of a younger bull. The new tenant was accordingly sought for, and when recognised, was received with great rejoicing, and a cry of εὑρήκαμεν, συγχαίρωμεν, "we have found him; let us

rejoice!" Compare Plaut. Aulul. v I 10.11. Sir Samuel Baker tells us that even now the dwellers on the White Nile will not eat the ox, and this is probably an instance of "survival." *exclamare libet.* So Mart. x 31. **30**: sqq. Don't suppose that a noble name is all that is required to make you noble in reality. Don't we call dwarfs Atlas, &c.? Take care then lest you be styled Creticus or Camerinus, on the same principle, *i.e.*, ironically. There is a slight digression here from the main line of argument. We should rather expect, "take care then, lest, for all that you may have a great name, such as Creticus or Camerinus, it may be held to imply very ignoble qualities." But the construction seems to demand the first rendering. *Atlas* seems to be the name of a dwarf in Mart. vi 77 7. *extortam*, "distorted," *omnibus membris extortus et fractus*, Plin. Epp. viii 18. *Creticus*, ii 67. *Camerinus*, vii 90. The former was an agnomen of the Metelli, first bestowed on Q. Caecilius Metellus for his victory over the Cretans, for which he had a triumph.

39, 40: *Rubelli Plaute.* There is some difficulty here, for Rubellius Plautus, the son of Rubellius Blandus, by Julia, grand-daughter of the Emperor Tiberius, was put to death, A.D. 62, long before this Satire was written. Yet we find him spoken of as still alive (*vivas* 46 *tua vivit imago* 55, and the context generally). Most of the MSS. read *Blande*, and some suppose the person addressed to have been a son of Rubellius Plautus and a grandson of the first-named Rubellius Blandus. But 42 *Ut te conciperet quae sanguine fulget Juli* is conclusive against this. We have seen how common it is for Juvenal to select types from the dead and speak of them as if still living; Tigellinus i 155, Paris and Palaemon in vii, and below 170, Nero, for the Emperor, for instance. We must suppose this to be the case here, and that the name is put for any one who is puffed up with his birth; though, to me at least, this is not quite satisfactory. But I see no other solution. Tacitus gives Rubellius Plautus a more favourable character, Ann. xiv 22. *tecum est mihi sermo*, "a word or two with you." **40**: *Drusorum stemmate.* His mother Julia was the daughter of Drusus; see the "Stemma Drusorum," in Dict. G. and R. Biog. *tumes*, the proper word, see note to

72. **42**: *ut.* Heinrich proposes, and Macleane approves *et.* I see no necessity for the change. Juvenal says, "Just as if you had yourself done anything to account for your coming into the world noble; in order that (*ut*) you should have been born of a princess and not of a common soldier's drab." All this was arranged for you by fate, and is not due to your own merits, and you have no right to boast of it! Mr. Evans translates "As if you had yourself achieved something to deserve *being ennobled*," which does not appear to me to be the sense. Juvenal's sentiments here are quite as much above our age as they were above his own, nor have so many centuries of civilisation in the least altered our worship of birth and rank. *aggere*, v 153. There may have been, as Heinrich suggests, workshops and factories in the camp (if so, probably of articles of attire for the soldiers), but *ventoso sub aggere* seems rather to refer to one working in the open air, under shelter of the rampart, exposed to the wind on account of its height. It is usually called the Mound of Servius Tullius, but Plin., H.N. iii 5, attributes it to Tarquinius Superbus. **46**: *Cecropides.* "I am a descendant of Cecrops, the first king of Attica, and an autochthon." "I am of royal and lofty descent," so *Dinomaches ego sum*, Pers. iv 20. **49**: *nobilis indocti*, "a noble who is an ignoramus." *veniet*, in our idiom, "there will be:" the Romans sometimes say "there will come," *veniet qui fercula docte Componat*, vii 184 185. *plebe togata.* The toga was not confined exclusively to the lower orders, i 96 note, but, as Macleane says, "the poorer people may have been called so from their frequent appearance before the rich in the toga." It was their dress of ceremony. Mart. has *turba togata;* cf. Juv. vii 142. **52**: *juvenis*, "a man of fighting age"—from seventeen to forty-five. **53**: *Nil nisi Cecropides*, "a Cecropid, and nothing else." The poor man goes out to fight the battles of his country or to garrison conquered districts; the "descendant of Cecrops" remains at home, like a motionless bust. *Hermae* were busts of Mercury, or some other god, ending in a pedestal. They served to mark boundaries, &c. "You resemble nothing so much as a Hermes."

56: *Teucrorum proles*, i 100. **57, 58**: *volucrem sic laud-*

amus equum, "we praise the horse as swift," below 161, *dominum regemque salutat*, "salutes him as," &c. The Romans, however, thought a great deal of the pedigrees of their racers, cf. Stat. Silv. v 2 21, sqq. *volucr.* seems to have been a name given to horses, Capit. Ver. 6. *palma*, "the palm of victory." *Primaque ventosis palma petetur equis*, Ov. Fast. iv 392. Others take it "of the clapping of hands by the spectators." **59**: *rauco Circo*, so *vicinia rauca*, in Hor. **60, 61**: will not fail to attract notice, both from the sentiment and the rhythm. Comp. *Acer equus quondam magnaeque in pulvere famae*, Ov. Met. vii 542. *longusque a Caesare pulvis*, Mart. x 6 5. **62**: *Corythae.* Of this mare nothing further is known. *Coryphaei* and *Coryphaeae* (equally unknown) are other readings. **63**: *Hirpinus* was a celebrated racer mentioned by Martial, who says of a busybody who affected to know everything, *Hirpini veteres qui bene novit avos*, iii 63 12. It seems that Lipsius copied an inscription on a stone at Rome, with the words *Hirpinus N(epos) Aquilonis vicit* cxii *secundas tulit* lvi *tert. tul.* xxxvi. **66**: *Epiredia*, from ἐπί and the Gallic *reda*. This word is noticed by Quintilian, Inst. Or. i 5. The scholiast says they were *ornamenta redarum aut plaustra.* They were either vehicles or something connected with vehicles; that is all we can say. **67**: *Nepotis*, this man must have been a well-known baker or miller. Some of the bakers' mills, which were usually turned by asses, or by slaves for punishment, are to be seen at Pompeii. The poet says these slow horses were fit to take their places at such mills. Ribbeck has *nepotes*, which is ingenious. See above inscription on Hirpinus, 63, note. **68**: *da.* Heinrich takes this as equivalent to *fac.* Macleane says, in his off-hand way, "It means, 'tell me,' as in Virg. Ecl. i 19, *Sed tamen iste Deus qui sit da Tityre, nobis*, and Hor. Sat. ii 8 4." No doubt *dare* often has this sense, as again in Ter. Prolog. ad Heaut. Tim. 10, *nunc quamobrem has partes didicerim, paucis dabo. Quis . . . tot templa tot aras Promeruisse datur?* "is said to have," Stat. Silv. iii 3 79; Ov. Fast. vi 434. But here it may mean either, and is perfectly translated by the English "give me." In iii 137, *da testem Romae tam sanctum*, &c., the sense is "produce,"

very much the same as here, and again at xvi 29. Compare with this passage, Tibull. iv 1 28, sqq.

71: *juvenem*, 52, note. Rubellius Plautus was probably nearly thirty at the time of his death. *quem nobis fama superbum tradit*, "whose nobility gives him to us proud," &c., Heinrich and Macleane: *fama* may have this sense in Hor. Sat. i 6 15: or, "whom common report hands down to us proud," &c., which I think better, as Rubellius had been dead some forty years before this Satire was produced. *ad juvenem*, "with respect to," "on the subject of." **72**: *plenumque Nerone propinquo*, i 163, note. So Horace, Sat. i 6 49 50, *quia non ut forsit honorem, Jure mihi invideat quivis ita te quoque amicum, i.e.*, "your friendship for me." *inflatum* as *tumes*, 40. Compare Mart. iv 11 1, *Dum nimium vano tumefactus nomine gaudes.* Plin. Epp. vii 31, *numquam secundis rebus intumuit. Nero longa Caesarum serie tumens*, Tac. Hist. i 16. *claro tumentes genere*, Sen. Oct. 496. Burmann on Calpurn. i 89, seems to think that the words may be used as *plenum numine*, satirically, "filled by his divine relative." He quotes an inscription, *Templum in rupe Tagi, superis et Caesare plenum.* **73**: *sensus communis.* A great deal has been written about the meaning of these words. Horace uses them, *communi sensu plane caret*, Sat. i 3 66, to signify "tact." They are used in exactly the same way by Seneca de Ben. i 12, *Sit in beneficiis, communis sensus: tempus, locum, personas observet, quia momentis quaedam grata et ingrata sunt.* It would be difficult to define tact better than this. *Communis sensus* is here a sense shared with others, and consequently of what is due to others. *sensum communem, humanitatem et congregationem*, Sen. Epp. 5, Quint. Inst. Or. i 2, a "fellow-feeling" which, in what may be called its humbler manifestations, is the same thing as tact. A man possessed of this would not thrust his relationship to Nero down the throats of others less nobly connected. *enim* is connected with *plenum* and *inflatum*, &c., "for, indeed, in that rank of life, people are commonly arrogant and selfish." It is possible that Juvenal may have had in his mind a fable of Phaedrus, dedicated to those *quibus honorem et gloriam Fortuna tribuit, sensum communem abstulit*, i 7 (though *s.c.* is used there for "intelligence" generally). In

Lucret., *c.s.* has a kindred meaning, "universal feeling common to all alike," cf. Munro ad i 422. **76-78**: It is a sad thing to have to lean for support on the reputation of others, like a roof propped up by pillars, or a vine longing to cling to an elm. Here the roof and the vine represent the man himself, and the pillars and the elm correspond to *aliorum famae.* The Romans, as is well known, were in the habit of training their vines round poplars, elms, and ashes, Colum. de Arb. 16; Ov. Am. ii 16 41, *Ulmus amat vitem, vitis non deserit ulmum.* Hor. Epod. 2 9 10. *Collibus in suis vitem viduas ducit ad arbores,* Od. iv 5 29, where *viduas* is rather "virgin," as the plane-tree is called *coelebs,* Od. ii 15 4; and *vidua,* Mart. iii 58 3, from the fact that, owing to its dense foliage, vines were not trained round it. Here *viduas* is not easily translatable, "the vine, as it trails along the ground, longs in vain for some unwedded elm to cling to." It does not mean that the vine has been torn from the elms. **79**: *arbiter* corresponds very nearly to our arbitrator, Dict. G. and R. Ant., "Judex." Pliny expressly distinguishes between *arbiter* and *judex. Sunt enim me qui aut judicem aut arbitrum faciant,* Epp. vii 30. *Caeteri cum ad judicem causam labefactari animadvertunt, ad arbitrum confugiunt,* Cic. pro Rosc., and the distinction between the two is very clearly laid down by Seneca de Ben. iii 7, from which it appears that the *arbiter* was possessed of a greater latitude than the *judex,* and was armed with something very closely resembling what we call an equitable jurisdiction. Hence the more necessary for one filling the office to be an upright man. **81**: *Phalaris,* tyrant of Agrigentum, with his brazen bull, had become proverbial. Cicero styles him *crudelissimus omnium tyrannorum,* in Verr. iv 33. **83**: *Pejusque leto flagitium timet,* Hor. Od. iv 9 50. *(mallet) Intemerata mori, vitamque impendere famae,* Stat. Silv. v i 63. *pudor* is here "honour," as often in writers of this period, Plin. Epp. ii 4; *famam defuncti pudoremque suscipere,* and Epp. v 1. It is found in Cic., too, in this sense, *Estne tui pudoris aut nostri de die rogare?* ad Div. vii 23. **84**: *causas,* "the true incentives to life." *causas discriminis atque laboris inde habuit,* x 139, and xiv 173. Compare Plin. Epp. v 5, *Qui voluptatibus dediti, quasi in diem vivunt, vivendi causas quotidie finiunt. Ingenio causas tu dabis una meo,* Ov. Am. ii 17 34.

85: *perit*, the perfect, as *magnus civis obit*, vi 559. "Such a man is already as good as dead; his existence cannot be dignified with the name of life—life is something more than mere breath." This is, I think, a reminiscence of Seneca, with whom the sentiment is a very favourite one, Epp. 60; *Vivit is qui se utitur, qui vero latitant et torpent sic in domo sunt, tamquam in conditivo . . . mortem suam antecesserunt*, and another passage to the same effect in Epp. 77, and in Epp. 93, *Alter post mortem quoque est, alter ante mortem periit*, and Epp. 122, and again, *Non est ergo otiosus hic, aliud nomen imponas, aeger est, immo mortuus est*, de Brev. Vit. 13. cf. also Cic. Sex. Rosc. Amer. 39. Compare also 80 81, sqq., with a passage in Epp. 66, *vir bonus . . . stet illic licet carnifex, stet tortor atque ignis, perseverabit.* It is quite clear that the works of Seneca were well known to, and often in the mind of, our author. Compare, for the converse of this sentiment, Plaut. Capt. iii 5 32, *qui per virtutem peritat, at non interit.* **85**: *ostrea*, iv 141, note. "However sumptuously he may fare." Mount Gaurus was near the Lucrine lake, hence Lucrine oysters are meant. *Cosmus* was a celebrated perfumer in Rome, often mentioned by Martial, *Cosmi pastillos voras*, i 88 2. *Cosmi redolent alabastra*, xi 8 9, &c. *aeno* is the copper in which he prepared his unguents.

87: sqq. Plin. Epp. viii 24, gives advice to his friend Maximus on his appointment to the province of Achaia, very similar to that given by our author, *Recordare quid quaeque civitas fuerit, non ut despicias quod esse desierit. Absit superbia, asperitas*, &c., imitated from Cicero ad Quint. Fratr. **89**: *sociorum*, cf. art. "Socius," Dict. G. and R. Ant. **90**: "You see the very bones of the kings (native and dependent princes) sucked dry, with the marrow gone, the same as *ossa vacua exsuctis medullis.* Horace has *exsucta medulla*, Epod. 5 37. *exedit cura medullas*, Catull. 66 23. **91**: *leges*, "the laws of the province." The provinces were in general governed by their own laws. See Plin. Epp. x 110, where Trajan writes to Pliny very strongly on this subject. *quid Curia mandet.* The governors of provinces received their orders, *rescripta*, from the emperor (many interesting specimens of those sent by Trajan are to be found in Plin. Epp. x), and were practically nominated by him; but their appointment was, in

theory, by the Senate, whose representatives they were supposed to be: much as in England, the right to appoint a bishop is legally in the dean and chapter. **92**: *fulmine.* A condemnation by the Senate, the Emperor, &c., is frequently compared to a "thunderbolt," *venturi fulminis ictus*, Stat. Silv. iii 3 158. *cum . . . castum libraret Julia (lex) fulmen*, Ib. v 2 102; Plin. Paneg. c. 90. So Ovid, of his sentence, *Venit in hoc illa fulmen ab arce caput*, Trist. i 1 72; and Seneca speaks of one visited by the Emperor's displeasure as *quasi fulguritus.* **93**: *Capito*, a lawyer, son-in-law of Tigellinus, and governor of Cilicia; was recalled and degraded from his senatorial rank, for his exactions in that province, A.D. 57. He was, however, afterwards restored, and came forward as the accuser of Thrasea Paetus, who had supported the Cilicians against him. For this Juvenal would naturally hate his memory, v 36. *Numitor* is unknown. The name has been mentioned at vii 74. **94**: *piratae Cilicum.* The Cilicians had a bad reputation and were notorious pirates. Hence the poet calls their despoilers "pirates of the pirates themselves." Possibly, this is a reminiscence of Cicero (with whose writings our author was well acquainted) *ostendent C. Verrem in ea classe quae contra piratas aedificata sit piratam ipsum consceleratum fuisse*, Verr. Act. ii, Lib. 1, c. 35; and again *praedonum praedo*, c. 59. **94–97**: The sense is: But what would be the use of a mere condemnation to you, poor provincial, when the new governor would rob you of all that the displaced governor has not laid his hands on? Dispose of your little all, by the help of the auctioneer, turn it into cash, and hold your tongue. Don't think of going to Rome to obtain redress; you would only be losing your passage-money in addition to your previous losses. *Pansa* and *Natta* appear not to apply to any particular persons. The latter may be taken from Horace, Sat. i 6 124, *fraudatis immundus Natta lucernis.* Originally the Nattae Pinarii were a very noble family, Cic. de Div. ii 21; so the name may stand for "a noble thief," cf. Pers. iii 31. *Chaerippus*, "any provincial;" but according to Aristotle, names compounded with ἵππος indicated noble birth: cf. Aristoph. Nub. 60, where this very name occurs. There may be allu-

sion to this. Even persons of high birth and station are reduced to rags. *post omnia perdere naulum* may have been proverbial, like "to throw the haft after the hatchet." Some take *naulum* (ναῦλον) to be Charon's fee, iii 267; but this does not suit the context as well, and especially *tace.* **97**: *post omnia,* "after everything else." "post omnia cetera," a very common Latin idiom, *rebus quisque relictis, Naturam primum studeat cognoscere rerum,* i.e., *rebus ceteris,* Lucr. iii 1071.

99: *sociis . . . victis,*; "when our allies were still flourishing, having only recently been conquered." I prefer taking *modo* in this sense, as *populus modo victor,* ii 73, and *modo captas Orcadas,* ii 160. They had been so recently subdued, that we had not had time to clean them out. Sallust says, *Ignavissimi homines per summum scelus omnia ex sociis adimere quae fortissimi viri victores hostibus reliquerant,* which expresses the same sentiment, Bell. Cat. 12. **101–103**: *Chlamys* (χλαμύς). A light scarf or shawl, imported from Greece, and fashionable in Rome, under the Emperors. Caligula wore one embroidered with gold, Suet. Calig. 19. *Spartanas.* There may be an allusion to the Laconian, or purple dye, Hor. Od. ii 18 7. *conchylia,* cf. iii 81, literally the shell-fish from which the purple was extracted. *Coa.* Cos, in the Aegean, was celebrated for its cloth or silk, which was sometimes dyed purple. It seems to have been very transparent. *Coae purpurae,* Hor. Od. iv 13 13; *Cois tibi paene videre est Ut nudum,* Sat. i 2 101; *Coa puellis Vestis, et a rubro lucida concha mari,* Tibull. ii 4 29 30. *Parrhasius* was a Greek painter, who lived about 400 B.C., the first, according to Pliny, who gave true proportion to painting. *Myro* and *Phidias,* celebrated sculptors, somewhat older than Parrhasius. The former worked also in silver, according to Phaedrus, v prolog. *Polycletus.* There were two of this name, celebrated as statuaries and sculptors. *Mentor,* a well-known silver-chaser (a Greek, like all the others mentioned) of the fourth century B.C. Martial often speaks of him, *Inserta phialae Mentoris manu ducta Lacerta vivit et timetur argentum,* iii 41, where the expression *lacerta vivit* may be compared with *vivebat ebur,* at 103. *Mentore,* "a cup of Mentor's chasing," as we say, "a Titian," "a Hogarth." All these things are put for the *chefs-d'oeuvre*

of antiquity. *labor, poculaque insignis veterum labor*, Val. Fl. Argon. i 143. Cicero compliments his brother Quintus on not having robbed the people of Asia during his proconsulship, of a single *signum, pictura, vas, vestis*, &c., ad Q. fr. i 2. **105** : *Inde* and *hinc* may also mean "from this source came," &c. This (the existence of this wealth and these rarities) brought Dolabellas, &c. *Scire volunt secreta domus atque inde timeri*, iii 113. *Inde caput morbi*, iii 236. *inde faces ardent*, vi 139. *hinc subitae mortes*, i 144, &c.; and similarly *unde. unde nil majus generatur ipso*, sc. *ex quo*, Hor. Od. i 12 17. *Dolabella.* There were three of this name who plundered provinces; Cn. Cornelius Dolabella, governor of Macedonia, charged with being guilty of extortion, B.C. 77, but acquitted; Cn. Cornelius Dolabella, governor of Cilicia, condemned for a similar crime; P. Cornelius Dolabella, son-in-law of Cicero, who robbed and plundered in Greece, Macedonia, Thrace and Asia Minor. *Antonius.* C. Antonius condemned for pillaging Macedonia, B.C. 59, though defended by Cicero, or M. Antonius, surnamed Creticus, brother of the above, and father of the Triumvir, who plundered Sicily, may be intended, or both of them. **106** : *sacrilegus Verres*, condemned for extortion in Sicily. Sacrilege was one of the counts in the indictment. *(Deorum) simulacra sanctissima C. Verres ex delubris sustulit*, Cic. in Verr. Compare Tac. Ann. xv 45. *altis* may be "deep-laden," "weighed down with the spoil." **108** : *grex parvus equarum*, cf. note to ii 80. **111** : *aedicula*, an oratory, as we should say, a niche or shrine, for the image of the god. *Grande armarium in angulo vidi, in cujus aedicula erant Lares argentei positi*, Petron. 29. These are now the highest prizes to be got. **113**: *Rhodios*, vi 296. Corinth was even more celebrated for its luxury and effeminacy. Martial says of an effeminate fellow that he boasts of being *municipem Corinthiorum*, x 65. **114**: *resinata. resina omnis oleo dissolvitur aut creta, pudetque confiteri maximum jam honorem ejus esse in evellendis virorum corpori pilis.* Plin. xiv 25. It was used like the *pumex* 16 and the *dropax*, another unguent. **116, 117**: But take care what you are about with such rough customers as the Spaniards. Martial, in the epigram referred to on 113, contrasts the

Spaniards with the Corinthians in the same way, *Hispanis ego contumax capillis, Levis dropace tu quotidiano, Hirsutis ego cruribus genisque.* *axis* vi 470. **117, 118**: The Romans derived a great portion of their corn from Africa, v 118 119, *quidquid de Libycis verritur areis,* Hor. Od. i 1 10; *frumenti quantum metit Africa,* Sat. ii 3 87. "Spare too (if only for your own sake) the reapers who fill the bellies of the Romans and enable them to give their time to the circus and the stage." On the love of the Romans for the circus, cf. iii 223, &c. *saturant,* xiv 166 167, in the same sense. **119**: *autem* "moreover," "besides." Moreover, what would you gain by making a raid upon the Africans, and so starving Rome? (which is what the poet hints at satirically in *tam dira culpa.*) Has not Marius already stripped them to the skin? These two lines are thrown in parenthetically. **120**: *discinxerit,* "has robbed them of their very girdles." In a hot climate, such as that of Africa, a covering round the middle would be the only thing worn by the bulk of the men. So *discingere* means "to strip." It is used precisely in this sense by Mart. xii 29 13, of a thief, *Hoc quoque si deerit, medios discingere lectos Mensarumque pedes non timet Hermogenes.* *tenues Afros discingere* may be an example of prolepsis, "to strip them, and so to reduce them to poverty," i 83, note. *tenuis,* for "poor," "starving," as at iii 163; vii 80. Virgil speaks of *discinctos Afros,* "the loosely-clad Africans," Aen. viii 724, but I can see no allusion to that passage here. As a contrast to Marius, Scipio may be quoted, who said of himself, *Cum Africam totam potestati vestrae subjecerim, nihil ex ea quod meum diceretur praeter cognomen retuli,* Valer. Max. iii 7 1. This is what Horace means when he speaks of him as one *qui domita nomen ab Africa Lucratus rediit,* Od. iv 8 18. As to Marius, cf. i 49, note. **124**: is pronounced by Jahn (and doubtless by Ribbeck) to be spurious. It may be, and the passage might perhaps better end with *relinques,* yet, if so, *spoliatis arma supersunt,* is a happy expression, to whomsoever due, and has become proverbial.

125: *sententia,* a "phrase," "saw," "aphorism,"—exactly applicable to *spoliatis arma supersunt*—Quintilian devotes a large part of a chapter, Inst. Or. viii 5, to *sententiae,* of various kinds. **126**: The Sibylline books were kept in the

temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, till its destruction by fire, B.C. 82. Afterwards, a fresh collection was made. They appear to have contained oracles, and prophecies, and directions for the proper observance of religious rites. See Dict. G. and R. Ant. "Sibyllini Libri." *folium* is here the leaf (of a tree) for the Cumaean Sybil, from whom these oracles were supposed to have descended, wrote them on leaves, Virg. Aen. vi 74. Ovid has a similar expression to this; *Haec tibi non hominem, sed quercus crede Pelasgas Dicere,* A. A. ii 541. **127**: *cohors comitum,* iii 47, note. *tribunal vendere,* "to sell decisions," is like *somnia vendere,* vi 547, "to sell the interpretation of dreams." **128**: *acersecomes,* "a young favourite with flowing locks, not yet cut" (ἀ κείρειν κόμην), Homer's epithet for Apollo, used as *Bromius,* an epithet for Bacchus, vi 378. **129**: *conventus.* The word refers to the meetings of the provincials in certain places appointed by the praetor, or proconsul, for the purpose of administering justice. A province was divided into a number of districts or circuits, each of which was likewise called *conventus, forum,* or *jurisdictio,* cf. Dict. G. and R. Ant. So they were not unlike our assizes, or circuits. Plin. iii 1 says of Spain, *Juridici conventus ei quatuor, Gaditanus, Cordubensis, Astigitanus, Hispalensis,* and his nephew, writing to Trajan, speaks of the *conventus* he had held, x 66. *conjuge.* In old times governors of provinces were not allowed to take their wives with them, Tac. Ann. iii 33 34, and cf. Ann. iv 20. Augustus was very particular on this subject, Suet. Aug. 24. **130**: *Celaeno,* one of the harpies. *dira Celaeno,* Virg. iii 211, to whom he gives *uncaeque manus, et pallida semper Ora fame.* **131**: *licet* I prefer taking as a conjunction. "Then (if you show yourself upright and worthy), though you may call yourself a descendant of Picus, &c., you are welcome to any pedigree you may like as far as I am concerned." *Picus* was a legendary king of Italy, represented as the son of Saturnus and father of Faunus, Virg. Aen. vii 48. **132**: *omnem Titanida pugnam* for "all the Titan warriors," an expression resembling "*cum tota Carthagine,*" in vi 171, "with all your Carthaginian belongings."

137: *lasso lictore. lassis caedentibus,* vi 484. *Sectus flagellis hic triumviralibus Praeconis ad fastidium,* Hor. Epod. 4 12, where,

however, it must not be supposed that the *praeco* administered the blows. **138** : *contra te stare*, "to plead against you," iii 290, note. **139** : *facem praeferre.* Cicero has *ad libidinem facem praeferre.* Catil. i 6. Compare Plin. Epp. v 17, *Adolescentem laudibus incitavi lumen quod sibi majores sui praetulissent, posteris ipsis praeferret.* **140, 141** : *Majora populus semper a summo exigit*, Sen. Oct. 575. *perlucet omne regiae vitium domus.* Id. Agam., "the fierce light that beats upon a throne." **142** : After *quo* in the sense of "to what purpose?" there is often an ellipsis, as at 9 and xiv 135. Supply here *jactas*, or some such word. *tabellas.* Legal documents, and especially wills, were generally written on waxen tablets. They were often kept, with other valuables, in temples, as we deposit articles with bankers, xiv 260. **145** : *Santonico*, from Saintonge, in Aquitaine. *Gallia Santonico vestit te bardocucullo*, Mart. xiv 128. The *cucullus*, or cowl used for purposes of concealment, we have had at vi 118; cf. Hor. Sat. ii 7 55, *prodis . . . Turpis odoratum caput obscurante lacerna.* Cic. in Pis. 6, Capitol. Ver. 4.

146 : sqq. One reading here and at 151 and 167 is *Damasippus;* but a Damasippus is mentioned again, in a different connection, at 185, and moreover the original of the character never was consul, cf. 185, note. The scholiast and P. both read *Lateranus.* He is a man of fortune, fond of horse-flesh; he drives along the Latin and Flaminian way past the tombs, i 171, v 54 55. There was a Lateranus consul in A.D. 94. **147** : *carpentum*, ix 132, a carriage drawn by mules and sometimes by horses, as here. **148** : *sufflamine.* The word, I believe, is only found here, and at xvi 50 (where it is used in a metaphorical sense), in an inscription quoted by Forcellini, and in Prudent. Pscych. 416, *lacero tardat sufflamine currum. sufflaminare* is used by Seneca, cf. note to xvi 50. See Rich.'s Dict. Ant. ad voc. and engraving. In a passage of Athen. Deipn. iii 55 (p. 99), a similar contrivance, ἐποχλης, (ἐποχεύς), or τροχοπέδης, is described as made of wood, and passed through, or across the wheels; τὸ διαβαλλόμενον ξύλον διὰ τῶν τροχῶν. **149** : *sed luna videt.* So *luna teste*, vi 311. Horace makes *lunam rubentem Ne foret his testis* (*sc.* to the incantations of Canidia) *post magna latere sepulcra*, Sat. i 8 35. *Sidera sunt*

testes, Propert. ii 9 41, and similarly Virg. and Ovid. **153**: *Jam senis*, "though an old man, and, therefore, likely to be horrified." *virga prior annuet.* So far from being ashamed of himself, he will be the first to salute his respectable old friend with his whip—perhaps, as coachmen do in the present day. At iii 318 *virga annuere* (or *innuere*) is "to make a signal with the whip." Juvenal seems to have had a great dislike for charioteering and horse-racing, i 58, sqq., xi 195. There does not appear to be anything so very atrocious in this part of the man's conduct. It would have been well if the Roman nobility had never amused themselves in a more reprehensible way. **155–157**: *Interea*, "all this time" (vi 508), whenever he is sacrificing, he is secretly thinking of Epona, the goddess of horseflesh, and swearing by her, &c. An altar to *Epona* was discovered in England; see Wright's "The Saxon, Celt and Roman." The hero of Appuleius' romance, when he is turned into an ass, and first goes into the stable, finds *in ipso fere meditullio Eponae deae simulacrum residens aediculae*, Met. iii 60. **158–162**: *pervigiles*, because kept open to a late hour, or all night, *vigiles fenestrae*, iii 275, *pervigilique toro* xv 43. These popinae, or cook-shops, were frequented by the lower classes, and many of them were little better than brothels. Making allowance (and not a very great allowance) for the difference of manners, these "pervigiles popinae" must have resembled our former "night-houses" in the Haymarket, &c. Cicero attacks Piso for going into a house of this description, *tu ex tenebricosa popina consul extractus*, Pis. 6 and 8. Horace calls them *immundae popinae*, Sat. ii 4 62; and Lucilius, *infamam inhonestam turpemque . . . popinam*, Fragm. i 19. *luxuriae popinalis, scortisque et diurnis potationibus exercitatus*, Appul. Met. viii 153. **159**: *obvius* = "promptus," "paratus," "sponte se offerens," Lucan. viii 58; and Burmann's note. *assiduo.* Some have proposed *Assyrio*, but the reading in the text is undoubtedly correct. **160**: The genuineness of this verse has been doubted. What *Idumaeae portae* may mean I do not know. At xi 124, we have *porta Syenes*, "the entrepôt of Syene," Syene, the place through which the traffic passes, and if the same sense be given here the meaning will be as Ruperti has it, "portus vel oppidum aliquod Idumaeae per

quod, tamquam portam, transvehebantur merces ex India et Perside in Romanum imperium." This is not very satisfactory to me. Others take it as "the Jewish gate through which Vespasian and Titus entered the city in their triumph after their victories in Palestine." But there is no authority for the existence of any gate so called; and why, if there were such a gate, should the Jews be found living near it? There is a tavern-keeper of the same nationality in Lucil., *Caupona hic tamen una Syra*, Fr. iii 33; and Virgil's *Copa Syrisca*. **161**: He "my-lords" him. *Cum te non nossem, dominum regemque vocabam*, Mart. i 113, iv 84 5, and xii 60 14. *dominus* was a common appellative in the time of Juvenal. **162**: *Cyane*, "the hostess." *succincta*, "her clothes girt up to facilitate her movements," hence, "bustling." *succinctus cursitat hospes*, Hor. Sat. ii 6 107.

164: sqq. *desisti nempe.* But, of course, you have left off this kind of thing. Horace has the same sentiment, *Nec lusisse pudet sed non incidere ludum.* **165**: *turpiter audes*, vi 97. **166**: iii 186, note. Such follies as these should be discarded with the first beard. They are excusable only in youth. **168**: *Thermarum calices. thermae* are generally taken here to be the same as *thermopolia*, "places where hot drinks were sold." But this is quite conjectural. In our uncertainty as to the exact meaning of the words, I prefer to take *thermae* in its usual sense, and to render "the drinking orgies of the bath." That drinking did go on at the public baths is shown by Mart. xii 70, *Sobrius a thermis nescit abire domum*, and the whole epigram; and in Petron. 28 (to which, however, too much importance must not be attached), we read how, while Trimalchio was being rubbed dry, *tres iatraliptae in conspectu ejus Falernum potabant.* Compare Pers. iii 100. In Senec. Epp. 56, we have, at the baths, people selling cakes and pastry, *et omnes popinarum institores mercem sua quadam et insignita modulatione vendentes*, and again in Epp. 122, we have the practice of drinking at the baths distinctly mentioned, *in ipso pene balnei limine, inter nudos bibunt, imo potant, et sudorem quem moverunt potionibus crebris ac ferventibus, subinde destringunt.* Comp. Mart. xii 19. The thermae, it should be remembered, resembled the Greek gymnasia, and included play-grounds,

lecture-rooms, libraries, &c. It is possible that they may have included *thermopolia*, "*bars* for the sale of hot drinks." At any rate, there would be sure to be such establishments very close to the public baths; and the expression, with the above rendering, is quite intelligible. Compare Mart. v 70 3 4. *inscripta lintea.* There has been very much disputing over these words. I think they mean "brothels," vi 121, note, and Mart. xi 45, quoted in note to vi 122. The *titulus*, as to which see note to vi 123 of the same satire, was, no doubt, very often affixed to the curtains (which covered the small apartments, *cellae*, in which the prostitutes were), and hence they would be called *inscripta lintea.* It is no objection that the passage generally relates to night-taverns, and not to stews. Juvenal is very discursive, and is never particular as to the order in which he introduces his points. "Lateranus frequents all sorts of low haunts at an age when he ought to know better," that is his meaning. **170**: *praestare Neronem securum*, "to guarantee the security of Nero,"—the common use of *praestare* in Juvenal. **171**: *mitte ostia.* This may mean, "send your army to the mouths of the Tiber (there to embark)," or, "send your army to the mouths of those rivers, the Euphrates, Tigris, &c. (to protect the frontier)." I prefer the former. Mr. Prior seems to be right in affirming that the Roman port *Ostia* is meant here. He quotes the plural form from Livy ix 19. *Antio atque Ostiis tenus.* "Send off your expedition, by all means, Caesar, but your general you will have to hunt up in some low pot-house," is the sense. **172**: *magna.* The epithet is introduced to account for the large assemblage of ruffians amongst whom he places the *legatus* in the following lines. These drinking-shops were usually very small, and were furnished with stools instead of couches. They are hence called *sellariolae popinae* by Mart. v 70. It is probable that a real occurrence is here referred to, the story of which has not come down to us. **173**: *percussore*, "a cut-throat," "a bandit," as *grassator*, iii 305, where Rome was represented as infested by these nocturnal marauders. *jacentem*, "reclining at table." **174**: *fugitivis*, "fugitive slaves," xiii 111. To harbour a fugitive slave was unlawful, and constituted *furtum.* This further marks the low character

of the house; *fugitiv.* however, was often used as a mere term of reproach; and similarly, *carnifex.* **175**: *carnifices* seems to mean here the same as *tortores* in vi 480, where see note, and Plaut. Capt. iii 4 65. *sandapilae* were rude biers on which the bodies of slaves and poor people were carried out for burial. The word occurs several times in Martial, ii 81, &c. **176**: *resupinati* may, or may not, have an indecent meaning, iii 112, vi 126. In the latter case, it will mean that the priest of Cybele is lying on his back, dead-drunk, with his drum beside him. We had these drums mentioned at vi 515, and the worship of Cybele there and at ii 111. These *tympana* very closely resembled modern tambourines, "and it appears from old paintings that they were struck with the open hand," Munro, Lucret. ii 618, and also with a stick, according to the article in the Dict. G. and R. Ant.; but the passage quoted (Phaedr. iii 20) does not confirm this. They were properly women's instruments, *tibi pensa manu tibi mollia gesto Tympana,* says the disguised Achilles in Stat. Achill. i 654, hence, *tympanotriba,* "an effeminate coxcomb," Plaut. Truc. ii 7 60. The Galli, as we have seen, were eunuchs, and Martial constantly uses the term as a synonym for eunuchs, iii 24, &c., cf. Lucret. ii 614, sqq. Catullus calls them *Gallae,* 63 12. **177**: *Aequa ibi libertas,* "it is liberty-hall." The place is a "tapis franc," as the French call it. **180**: *Nempe,* "of course," as at 164. *nempe enim daturi estis consulari viro servos aliquos,* Plin. Epp. iii 16, "of course, you mean to give," &c. *ergastula,* vi 150, note. *in Lucanos (agros) aut Tusca ergastula mittas* means, "you would send him into the country, there to work in chains." *Et sonet innumera compede Tuscus ager,* Mart. ix 23 4. **181**: *Trojugenae,* i 100, note. **182**: *cerdonibus,* iv 153, note. *Volesus,* or *Volusus,* was the reputed ancestor of the Valeria gens. For the general sentiment contained in these lines, compare Hor. Epp. i 18 29, sqq., *Stultitiam patiuntur opes, tibi parvula res est . . . desine mecum certare.*

183, 184: *Utimur* applies to the poet himself. Shameful as are the instances of profligacy already cited, it seems that we are continually brought face to face with something worse. He then proceeds to cite an instance of something which he considers still worse, men of birth going on the stage.

185 : *Damasippe.* The name is used here for that of any man of birth and fortune who had ruined himself. It had no doubt become proverbial from Horace, whose works, in Juvenal's time, were text-books, vii 226 227, and familiar to educated men from boyhood. Damasippus, a broken spendthrift, is introduced as talking with Horace all through Sat. ii 3. There was a living original of the character mentioned by Cicero, ad Fam. vii 23; ad Att. xii 29. Probably from *consumptis opibus* here, some of the transcribers have taken this as a continuation of the preceding passage, and hence *Damasippus* has been substituted for *Lateranus.* **186** : *Sipario,* literally the "drop-scene," or "stage-curtain," hence, metaph., "the stage." The *Phasma* (φάσμα), or "Ghost," appears to have been a farce, written by Catullus the playwright (and who must not be confounded with the celebrated poet). We know nothing certain of the farce, or its author. Menander wrote a play with the same title, of which a Latin version was given in Terence's time, *Idem Menandri Phasma nunc nuper dedit,* Ter. Eun. Prol. 9. But elegance appears to have been the distinguishing mark of Menander's comedies, and it is difficult to trace any connection between a production of his and the noisy (*clamosum*) farce alluded to in the text; unless it were a burlesque of the original. Catullus is again mentioned at xiii 111, and by Mart. v 30, *facundi scena Catulli.* **187** : *Laureolum,* "the hero of a farce" (also by Catullus, according to Tertull. adv. Valent. 14), a robber who was crucified on the stage. Juvenal says Lentulus acted the character so much to the life that he ought to have been crucified in reality, not in mere show. This appears to have been actually done in some cases, *Nuda Caledonio sic viscera praebuit urso, Non falsa pendens in cruce Laureolus,* Mart. Sp. 7. **189** : *frons durior,* as *os durissimum* in Cic. *frons* is here, as often, "shame," "a sense of shame;" *exclamet Melicerta perisse Frontem de rebus,* Pers. v 103; *Aut cum perfricuit frontem, posuitque pudorem,* Mart. xi 27 7. **190** : *triscurria,* "buffooneries of the lowest kind," *tri* having, as in several other words, an intensive meaning: *trifurcifer,* Plaut. Rud. iii 4 29; *trivenefice,* or *tervenefice,* Bacch. iv 6 15, quoted by Britannicus. Also, *trifur* and *triparcus* in the same poet, and *triportentum* in

Pacuvius. So *ter* alone. *Ter tanto pejor ipsa est quam illam tu esse vis*, Plaut. Pers. i 3 73. This word must be compounded of *tres* and *scurra*. It occurs nowhere else. **191, 192**: *planipedes*, "actors in mimi, who wore nothing on their feet." The *Fabii* we have had already in this Satire, 14. The *Mamerci* were a family in the Aemilia gens who, like all the other Aemilii, traced their descent from Numa. They were extinct, or had at any rate disappeared from history, when Juvenal wrote. *alapas* are here "stage-slaps," such as are administered in our pantomimes by clown to pantaloon. *O quam dignus eras alapis, Mariane Latini, Te successurum credo ego Panniculo*, Mart. v 61, where however *alapae Latini* are those bestowed by Latinus, and *Panniculus* is "pantaloon." **191**: sqq. I am very nearly reading *munera* here, from a conjecture of Dobree's which Ribbeck has adopted. It would make the sense clear, and I think it might stand for "services," "favours." However all the best MSS. have *funera* (one of no great authority has *vulnera*, which, in the sense of "stage-bruises," would do), and we had better make the best of it. Some of the commentators have introduced worse confusion into this passage by taking *gladios* for the "gladiator's sword." They have been deceived by the juxtaposition of that word to *pulpita*. The sense (or rather nonsense) will be this,—"No matter what they sell their lives for in the arena. They sell them voluntarily, &c. Yet, suppose a gladiator's part were offered you on the one hand, and the stage on the other, would not the gladiator's part be preferable? To be sure it would. What then remains worse than the stage? The gladiator's part." Juvenal never could have written thus. *gladios* is evidently "a violent death," cf. 195, note, and then (194 being obviously spurious) we shall get this,—"What matters it at what price they sell their lives in the arena? They do it voluntarily; no tyrant compels them. Yet suppose a violent death were offered as an alternative, even to going upon the stage, would not the former be preferable? Who would choose life, on condition of playing 'the walking gentleman,' 'the heavy old man?' &c. Beyond such performances as these, what remains? The arena, &c." This is intelligible, but somewhat confused, and like iii 232-

236, and some other passages, would have offered a fine target for Ribbeck, if it had occurred in one of his "spurious" satires. Seneca takes the same view as Juvenal as to the comparative enormity of the two employments, *Deinde sub persona cum diu trita frons est, transitur ad galeam*, Nat. Quaest. vii 32. *haec ultra* is as *quid ultra*, vi 190, leading up to something worse. In ii 143 for a nobleman to appear in the arena is described as surpassing in horror an unnatural marriage between males publicly celebrated. **193**: *vendunt nullo cogente Nerone.* Compare ii 90, *nullo gemit hic tibicina cornu*, and vi 589. Manilius iv 225, has *Nunc caput in mortem vendunt et funus arenae*, where Heinsius conjectured *munus*, but there *funus* is clearly right. Suetonius says that Nero caused four hundred senators and six hundred knights to fight in the arena, Ner. 12, but the number is probably exaggerated. It does not appear that he compelled any one to go on the stage. **194**: is doubtless spurious. The praetor presided over the public games in Juvenal's time. *celsi*, "seated on high," x 36 37. **195**: *gladios*, "violent death (awaiting you if you refused to comply)," as at iv 96, x 123, xiii 25. I cannot, as I have said, make sense of "the sword of the gladiator." Yet but for the context it would bear that sense. *Se ad gladium locare*, is "to hire one's self out as a gladiator," Sen. Epp. 87. **197**: *ut sit zelotypus Thymeles*, as "to play the part of the jealous husband (or lover—but the first is perhaps better) of Thymele," i 36, note. *Corinthi*, an actor who played "the dupe," "the heavy man," *patresfamilias togatos, modo stupidos, modo obscenos*, as Tertullian terms their *rôle*, de Spect. So *stupidus* is "the heavy man" in Capitol. M. Ant., 29. **198**: *citharoedo principe*, with the example of an Emperor figuring as a harper. Not "when the Emperor is a harper." He is speaking of his own day, when in any case Nero had long been dead, *nullo cogente Nerone*, 193. That Emperor's performances on the public stage are well known, and coins of him, with a harp in his hand, still exist. Compare v 617, *quae non faciet quod principis uxor? Regis ad exemplar totus componitur orbis*, Claud. **199**: *haec ultra quid erit?* As at vi 190. *quid ultra?* "what can there be beyond this, what remains further?" And then

something still worse is mentioned. **200**: The *mirmillo* was a gladiator, whose name has been derived from the image of a fish (μορμύρος) which he wore on his helmet. He was usually matched with the *retiarius*, ii 143, note; and for a full account of the different kinds of gladiators, see Dict. G. and R. Ant. It was the latter part which Gracchus appears to have chosen on this occasion. What is meant here is, that he came into the arena as a gladiator, and not as one of those who are heavily armed with sword and shield, and whose faces are concealed by a helmet, such as the mirmillo, but in the light costume of a retiarius, with his face exposed—and actually wearing the gold-fringed tunic and tall conical cap, with flowing ribbons, of the priests of Mars—thus unblushingly exhibiting his person and disgrace to the world, and reserving to himself the means of running away, like a coward, if he got worsted in the encounter. We have had all about this before in ii 143–148; and Gracchus has been mentioned as a priest of Mars in the same satire, 125 126. We do not read of persons of rank appearing in the character of gladiators before the time of Julius Caesar, Suet. J. Caes. 39. **202**: is probably spurious. **205**: *spectacula*, "the spectators." So *auxiliis*, "the auxiliary troops," 256; *elementa*, "learners of first elements," Quint. Inst. Or. i 2; *servitia*, "slaves;" *crimen*, "a criminal," Virg.; *latrocinium* for *latro; custodiae* for *custodes*, Sen. Epp. 77. *ministeria*, &c.; see 219. **207, 208**: *de faucibus aurea cum se porrigat*, refers to the tunic which was embroidered or fringed with gold. *galero* is here the conical cap worn by the Salii. It seems that they were not allowed to lay it aside in public, Aul. Gell. x 15, and this is perhaps why Gracchus appeared in it. If recognised without it, he would have lost his priesthood, Val. Max. i 1 4, and Dict. G. and R. Ant. "Apex." At vi 120, the word is used in another sense, "a wig."

211: According to Tacitus Ann. xv 65, some of those who joined in Piso's conspiracy against Nero, A.D. 65, had the ultimate aim in view of raising Seneca to the throne. The respect which Juvenal professes here and elsewhere (v 109) for Seneca, will be shared in a very moderate degree by those who are acquainted with his life. Having introduced

Nero into the Satire, the poet not unnaturally contrasts Seneca with him, but it would have been more in accordance with the general argument, if the latter had been a man of low birth, which he was not. Some commentators have thought, from the way in which Nero is dwelt upon, that the first draft of this Satire was probably written during his reign or shortly after his death. But it is clear that Juvenal wishing to illustrate his theme, *Stemmata quid faciunt?* by the example of an emperor, among others, could not have chosen one more recent than Nero. For Galba he had a partiality. Otho and Vitellius were of no remarkable descent, and the Flavians of humble origin. And Nero fits in with and was perhaps suggested by what has preceded about the stage. *Lib. si dentur*, so Livy iv 3, *Si populo Romano liberum suffragium datur.* **213, 214**: Alluding to the well-known punishment for parricides, under which term were included, as exposed to this penalty, the murderers of a father, mother, grandfather, and grandmother. They were whipped, sewn up in a sack with a dog, a cock, a viper, and an ape, and thrown into the sea, or where the sea was not at hand, exposed to wild beasts, xiii 155 156, though Suetonius alleges that none were punished in this way who had not confessed their guilt, Aug. 33. Nero was, strictly speaking, guilty of only one *parricidium* (or two, if he really had a hand in the death of his father by adoption, Claudius, Suet. Nero, 33), thus punishable,—that of his mother Agrippina; but he murdered his wives Octavia and Poppaea, Britannicus his step-brother, &c. *non una*, not one alone, vi 218. **215**: sqq. cf. Hor. Sat. ii 31 32, sqq. "Orestes murdered his mother Clytemnaestra too; but his case was quite different from that of Nero." *causa* is the incentive, motive. Nero was compared to Orestes in his lifetime, Suet. Ner. 39. **218**: *Electrae*, the sister of Orestes. Nero murdered Antonia, daughter of the Emperor Claudius, his sister by adoption, because she would not marry him. His wife Octavia was also his sister by adoption. **219**: *conjugii* for *conjugis*. *connubium* is similarly used, and *conjugia* pl. So *remigium* for *remiges*, Hor. Epp. i 6 63; and many other words of the same kind. **220**: *Troica non scripsit.* Orestes never sang on the stage. He did not compose rub-

bishy poems like the Troica, iii 9, note. If we are to believe Lucian, the Emperor put to death, at the Isthmian games, a singer whose voice drowned his own. **221**: *quid enim Verginius armis*, &c. "He asks which of all Nero's crimes so called for punishment, as his having written this dull poem," Macleane. I can scarcely think that Juvenal meant to say this. The humour of what has preceded, *Troica non scripsit*, coming after a catalogue of crimes, would be destroyed by dwelling on the idea. If Nero had never done worse, he would have been simply ridiculous. The poet has, rather, the whole career of Nero before his eyes, and particularly his public appearances on the stage, which he is just going to mention. "What could Verginius, &c., have found (in the world) more deserving of the vengeance of their armies? What did Nero do in all his tyranny? This is what he did," &c. **221, 222**: *Verginius, Vindex, Galba.* The last named was Nero's successor. Vindex commanded in Gaul, and first raised the standard of Galba, but Verginius marched against him, protesting that he would acknowledge no one as Emperor till he had been proclaimed by the Senate. Verginius, however, subsequently aided in the establishment of Galba. Verginius Rufus was a very remarkable figure in the history of these times, a man who had several times refused the imperial throne. He had not long been dead when this Satire was written, and he was honoured with a public funeral, Plin. Epp. ii 1. It is rather strange to find Juvenal coupling him with Vindex, as the epitaph composed by himself for his tomb ran thus, *Hic situs est Rufus pulso qui Vindice quondam Imperium asseruit non sibi sed patriae*, Plin. Epp. vi 10. The poet, however, cites these three men as having been the most instrumental in the downfall of Nero. **224-226**: How Nero went about Greece performing in public is related by Suetonius, Ner., and others. *apium*, "parsley," was used by the ancients for crowning the head, *Floribus atque apio crines ornatus amaro*, Virg. Ecl. 6 68; ἐπὶ δ' ὀφρύσιν σελίνων στεφανίσκους θέμενοι, Anacr.; Hor. Od. i 36 16, &c. Suetonius says of Nero, *Romam introiit coronam capite gerens Olympiacam dextra manu Pythiam*, Ner. 25. **227**: The poet tells him ironically to hang up his stage-dresses, &c., by the statues of his

ancestors. **228**: *Domiti.* Nero belonged to the Ahenobarbi, a family of the Domitia gens. His father's name was Cn. Domitius Ahen., and his own L. Domit. Ahen. before his adoption by Claudius. The Domitia gens was of plebeian origin, but before Nero's time, had come to be looked upon as one of the most illustrious of Roman families, Suet. Ner. 1. **229, 230**: The *syrma, i.e.*, the long tragic cloak with a train to it, in which he had acted the part of Thyestes, or Antigone, or the mask which he wore in the character of Menalippe. Martial speaks of a tragic writer as one *qui scribit . . . coenam crude Thyesta tuam*, and says of his own epigrams, *Musa nec insano syrmate nostra tumet*, iv 49, where *syrma* is used for "tragedy," as in Juv. xv 30. There were many plays extant on these subjects. Varius wrote a tragedy of Thyestes, which is spoken of by Quint. Inst. Or. x 1, and alluded to by Hor. Od. i 6 8. Ennius and Accius are said to have written tragedies on Menalippe. *marmoreo colosso* must mean "a colossal marble statue of one of his ancestors." Suetonius informs us that Nero had a colossal statue of himself, one hundred and twenty feet high, Ner. 31, but it would appear to have been of bronze, Plin. H. N. xxxiv 2. It is to this that allusion is made in Mart. Sp. 2.

231: Catiline was of an old, but impoverished, family of the Sergia gens, who traced their descent from Sergestus, the companion of Aeneas. *Sergestusque, domus tenet a quo Sergia nomen*, Virg. Aen. v 121. Cethegus, his chief associate, was of the Cornelia gens. The two are coupled at ii 27 and x 287 288. **234**: As if you had been born hereditary enemies of Rome. This may be a reminiscence of Cicero, *quam (patriam) quidam hinc nati, et summo loco nati, non patriam suam, sed urbem hostium esse judicaverunt*, in Catal. iv 8. Nearly all the barbarous nations within the sphere of Rome's influence wore *braccae* (breeches) in those days, ii 169, but the term is perhaps applied to the inhabitants of Gallia Narbonensis, or Braccata, Plin. H. N. iii 4, *Narbonensis provincia Braccata ante dicta.* Martial speaks of the *braccae Britonis pauperis*, xi 21. The *Senones* were a tribe who invaded Italy in the time of the Tarquins. Their name seems to have become proverbial for the enemies of Rome, *Et Senonum furias*

Latiae sumpsere cohortes, Stat. Silv. v 3 198. **235**: *tunica molesta,* cf. i 155. Martial uses the same expression, x 25 5. *tunicam alimentis ignium et illitam et intextam,* Senec. Epist. 14. Tertull. calls it *tunica ardens,* "a dress smeared with pitch, &c., in which the wearer was burnt." **237**: *novus Arpinas.* Cicero, lately a mere country knight, the first of his family who served a curule office. *his* is another reading here instead of *hic,* "to them," "in the opinion of such people as Catiline and Cethegus." But *hic* is preferable. **238**: *galeatum,* i 169, note. **239**: *in omni gente,* "for the whole of Italy," Heinrich. Macleane quotes Hor. Od. i 2 5, *terruit urbem, terruit gentes,* where he says that *gentes* means "the people about Rome, as opposed to those in the city." In both places, I think the meaning is the nations that make up the Roman Empire, the nations that own our sway. Cicero himself certainly uses the word in this sense when he speaks of himself as *assentiente Italia, cunctisque gentibus, conservator patriae.* Pis. 10, and cf. de Dom. 52. **241–243**: *Leucade, Thessaliae campis* refer to the battles of Actium and Philippi. *Octavius,* Augustus. **243, 244**: *libera,* "in the days of her freedom, when the people had *libera suffragia,*" &c., 211. There is a strong emphasis on *libera.* Augustus indeed received the title of *Pater patriae,* and so did others, but then Rome was no longer free.

245: The mention of Arpinum is made to suggest, as it were, a notice of another native of that place Marius (to whom, by the way, Cicero applies the term *pater patriae.* C. Rabir. 10), who, though a plebeian by birth, saved the state. According to Plutarch, he was not actually born in Arpinum, but in a village near it. All ancient authors represent him as of very low origin, except Vell. Paterc., who, in his Roman history, ii 11, speaks of him as *natus equestri loco;* but the reading is suspected, especially as the same writer further on, 128, calls him a man *ignotae originis.* **247**: He had the vine-switch broken over his head. *frangere* has occurred in the same sense, vi 479. Compare viii 136. The *vitis,* or vine-switch, was the badge of office of the centurion. Hence it is used for a centurion's commission, xiv 193, *vitem posce libello. Vare Paraetonias Latio modo vite per urbes Nobilis, et centum dux memorande viris,*

Mart. x 26. It was used to flog soldiers, Tac. Ann. i 23. **249**: The allusion is to the battle of Vercellae, won by the united armies of Marius and Catulus, over the Cimbri, B.C. 101. **251**: After they were flying to the slaughtered Cimbri, *i.e.*, after the battle. **253**: The noble colleague was Catulus. The nobility of the family has been already referred to, ii 146. There seems great doubt whether Catulus was not entitled to as much renown as Marius for his share in the engagement. **254**: *P. Decius Mus,* father and son, devoted themselves to death for the sake of their country, the first in the war against the Latins, the second in that against the Gauls, Liv. viii 9, and x 28. In both cases they devoted themselves *Diis manibus, tellurique.* There was also a legend of the grandson having done the same in the war against Pyrrhus, Cic. Tusc. Quaest. i 37. Horace alludes to the plebeian origin of the Decii, Sat. i 6 20. **259**: *ancilla natus,* Servius Tullius, vii 199 201. *trabeam,* x 35, note.

261: sqq. He goes on to the sons of Brutus, put to death by the sentence of their own father for engaging in a conspiracy to bring back the Tarquins. Instead of thus endeavouring to strangle liberty at its birth, they should have been engaged in doing some great deed on its behalf, such as might have excited the admiration of patriots of the stamp of Mucius and Cocles. *laxabant,* "were in the act of loosening." *Cocles* defended the bridge against King Porsena. *Mucius* burnt his hand before the same king. The virgin is *Cloelia,* who escaped from Porsena's camp and swam across the Tiber. *Et fluvium vinclis innaret Cloelia ruptis,* Virg. Aen. viii 652, who represents Horatius Cocles as also figuring on the shield made by Vulcan for Aeneas. In his illustrations, Juvenal, of course, followed the current legends. As a matter of fact, Porsena conquered Rome. **266**: The secret was discovered at a supper-party by Vindicius, a slave. The matrons mourned Brutus for a whole year, Liv. ii 7; and so Juvenal speaks of Vindicius as *lugendus.* **268**: *legum,* "under the republic." This may perhaps be best explained by referring to Livy (of Tarquin) *cognitiones capitalium rerum sine consiliis per se solus exercebat* i 49. *animi . . . Deci Brutique secures,* Propert. iv 1 45.

269: *Thersites*, the deformed talker and boaster of the Iliad, B. 212, sqq. **272**: *Et tamen*, "and yet after all is said." Seneca looks at the matter in a different way, *Omnes si ad primam originem revocentur a diis sunt*, Epp. 44, the whole of which should be read in conjunction with this Satire. *revolvas*, "unroll your pedigree," however long it may be. We talk of "a roll of ancestry." **273**: *infami asylo*, "of Romulus." *exiguum dominos* (*Romulum et Remum*) *commisit asylum*, Lucan. i 97; Livy i 8. **275**: "No better than he should be," as we say. This is one of Ribbeck's undisputed satires, and I must therefore point out that lines 231–275 are quite in the style of the "Declamator."

INTRODUCTION TO SATIRE IX.

THIS Satire requires no words by way of introduction. Mr. Evans seems to think it one of the author's late productions from the mention of Pollio 6 7, and Saufeia 117, in much the same terms as those which are applied to them in the eleventh and sixth Satires respectively, xi 43, vi 320, and both of these latter bear evidence of being the works of the poet's maturer years. I think it doubtful, however, whether these are more than names.

NOTES TO SATIRE IX.

1 : The subject of this Satire is necessarily a painful one. As in Satire v, the poet addresses a mere parasite, and points out to him the disgrace which he brings on himself by hanging on to the skirts of the great; so here he introduces to our notice a character of a far worse kind, who endeavours to earn a living by pandering to the most diseased tastes of some of these great people. But the mode of treatment is different from that adopted in the other case. The man is made to tell his own story and reveal his own baseness; and the effect produced is far greater than would result from a series of scathing rebukes administered by the poet. Though we should, perhaps, have been better pleased if Juvenal had left this subject alone, still, as he did undertake it, one is glad to see the spirit in which he approaches it, and to observe the contrast which he presents in this respect to other Roman poets, and particularly to Horace. *toties* gives the idea of the man's having long wandered about in quest of employment. Juv.'s never having asked him before why he looks so wretched may be intended to suggest the slightness of their acquaintance. *Naevole.* This is a name which occurs several times in Martial, but it does not follow that a real person is intended. **2** : *fronte obducta. obducta solvatur fronte senectus,* Hor. Epod. 13 5. *Marsya victus.* The story of Marsyas, conquered in a musical contest with Apollo, and flayed alive by the god, is well known. There was a statue of him in the Forum at Rome, to which Juvenal may be alluding, Hor. Sat. i 6 120; Mart. ii. 64 8. Appuleius Florid. i 3 12, quoted by Orell. ad Hor., describes Marsyas in terms which illustrate 12–15 of this Satire, *barbarus, vultu ferino trux, hispidus, illutibarbus, spinis et pilis obsitus.* It was a common subject for sculptors. **3** : *Quid tibi cum vultu,* "what have you got to do with." *Quid tibi cum Cirrha quid*

cum Permesside lympha? Mart. i 77. *Nil mihi cum bello*, Ov. Fast i 253. *deprensus*, "caught in the act," vi 285, below 18. **4**: *Ravola* is some impure old wretch. *Rhodope*, a courtezan. **5**: Compare Hor. Sat. i 3 81, Lucil. fragm. xxiii 1, but this verse has apparently slipped in from the margin, where it occurred as the note of a reader. If it is Juv.'s, it is clearly out of place. **6, 7**: *Crepereius Pollio* is a spendthrift who goes about offering three times the amount of legal interest (*i.e.*, thirty-six per cent.) for a loan, but can find no one foolish enough to advance the money. *Pollio*, as a spendthrift, occurs again at xi 43. **10**: *vernam equitem.* Martial has the same expression in i 85, *futuit ancillas Domumque et agros implet equitibus vernis*, but the sense is not the same. The man speaks of himself as a *cliens* at 59 72. **11**: *salibus intra pomeria natis*, *i.e.*, *salibus urbanis.* Cicero speaks of *urbani sales*, "smacking of the town," "witty," Juv. xiii 111. *pomerium* was a space on each side of the city walls which was not to be built upon or cultivated, Liv. i 44; Aul. Gell. xiii 14. **12, 13**: *sicc. silv. com.* So, in Theocrit. we find, among other signs of dejection, αὐσταλέοι κίκιννοι "dried-up curls," 19 4.

13: *tota nitor in cute* must be taken together, "a general sleekness of skin," which has now ceased to be seen—*nullus.* **14**: Pliny speaks of the pitch from Bruttium in H. N. xiv 20, and xvi 11, and elsewhere. It was probably made from the pine-trees of Calabria. Here it is spoken of as a depilatory. **15**: *fruticante pilo*, comp. Calp. vi 37, *Aspicis ut fruticat late caput?* of a stag—probably in reference to his antlers. **16, 17**: Macleane thinks this refers to "a man recovering from a fever, and in the first stage of recovery," on the strength of iv 57, *jam quartanam sperantibus aegris* (where see note), but he is certainly wrong. The meaning is "like that of a sick old man who has long been tormented by a quartan," as many are in Italy at the present day. These fevers or agues did not necessarily begin by being *quotidianae* and then pass into *quartanae*, as Macleane's note would imply, but might begin and end by being *quartanae*, &c., or pass from the intermittent to the more serious stage. Here the sense is clear. **17**: *domest.* Ov. Met. vi 686. **18**: sqq. Juvenal

may have had Lucilius in his memory here, *Animo qui aegrotat, videmus corpore hunc signum dare*, Fr. xxvi 55. **21**: *propositum*, v 1. **22**: *nuper*, as Macleane observes, "does not always mean that which was very lately, but in former years. In Hor. Epod. 9 7, it means six years before." Cf. Juv. ii 29, and iv 9. In Cicero de Senect. Cato Major, speaking, B.C. 150, mentions *P. Crassum nuper pontificem maximum*, *i.e.*, sixty-two years before. In the Div. in Q. Caec. 20, it is used of a time some thirty years before, in Sen. de Ira. ii 5, of an event which must have happened at least thirty to forty years before. Cicero speaks of *ea quae nuper, id est paucis ante seculis, reperta sunt*, Nat. Deor. ii 50, but here he means "recently," comparatively speaking, in reference to his subject; as we might say, "The art of printing is a recent invention in the history of mankind." *Ganymeden* is usually taken for a temple of Jupiter, where his statue would naturally be found; but I think that it should be taken with *Pacis*. The temple of Peace erected by Vespasian, after the termination of the Jewish war, was adorned with many magnificent works of art, and there may have been a well-known statue of Ganymede among them. Certainly *secreta palatia* does not apply well to *Pax*, whose rites were not secret, and whose temple was not (like that of Cybele) on the Palatine Hill. Moreover all the other temples mentioned are those of female divinities, *Pax*, *Isis*, *Cybele*, *Ceres*, the three last particularly frequented by women. It was to these that an adulterer, *moechus*, in search of bonnes-fortunes would go, and the temple of Jupiter is out of place—for 26 is thrown in parenthetically. **24**: *Cererem*, the temple of Ceres, a common usage: *ante Castoris*, *ad Spei*, &c. *quo . . . templo*, vi 489, and compare Propert. ii 19 10. *Fanaque peccatis plurima causa tuis.* The early Christian writers continually assign this character to the temples. **25**: *celebrare*, iii 249. **26**: *inclinare*, x 224. as *incurvare*, Mart. xi 43 5.

28: *pingues lucernas.* So Martial, *Te Cadmea Tyros me pinguis Gallia vestit*, vi 11, and he speaks of a cloak as *Sequanicae pinguem textricis alumnam*, iv 9. *pinguis* there, as well as here, means "coarse," "thick," not greasy. **31**: Macleane seems to think *tenue argentum*, etc., refers to the cloak. He

translates "like base metal." This may be so, or it may refer to the money he gets, and which he describes contemptuously. *secundus* for "inferior" is common, *panis secundus*, Hor. *vir secundae notae*, Senec. *secundae sortis ingenium*, Id. **32, 33**: *fata, sidera*, vii 194–201. *sinus*, included all the front folds of the toga, as appears clearly from a passage in Petron. 24. **34**: i 40 41, *incognita* cannot mean "remaining unknown," as Mr. Evans renders; which is against what immediately follows. We speak of a thing "of unknown size," *i.e.*, "hitherto unknown," for "very great." So *numquam visis*, xii 74, "never seen," "hitherto unseen," "unprecedented." *ignota* "unknown before," xiv 187. *aper immanis atque invisitatus*, "such as had never been seen before," Appul. Met. viii 155. *noctem publicis voluptatibus inexpertam*, "such as had never been enjoyed before," Statius. proem. Silv. 1. *equum magnitudine invisitata*, Aul. Gell. iii 9. **35**: Mart. i 97 13, xi 63. **36**: *viderit*, probably alludes to the bath, vi 374 375, Mart. i 24, xi 63. Lamprid. Elagab. 8. *densaeque tabellae*, i 120. *densos amores*, Virg., "numerous." **37**: αὐτὸς . . . κίναιδος, a parody on αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐφέλκεται ἄνδρα σίδηρος, of Homer. The vagabond quotes Greek. **42**: *numerentur deinde labores*. These words are usually taken with what has preceded, "reckon up five sestertia as a complete quittance, and then reckon up what he has done to earn them." But they are far more forcible and appropriate in the mouth of Naevolus, especially with what follows; nor is it likely that the great man would himself call attention to the character of his client's *services*. The sum would be about £40. As to *calculus* and *tabula*, see Dict. G. and R. Ant., "Abacus." **43**: The part which the rich patron is here supposed to fill was even then looked upon as especially disgraceful, Mart. iii 71 (where the *rôle* of Naevolus is transposed). **44**: *legitimum* means here "of the right length." *Fistulas denum pedem longitudinis esse legitimum est*, Plin. H. N. xxxi 6. This passage, like many others, cannot appear in our translation. **45**: *servus . . . qui foderit agrum*. *fodere* is used in the same double sense in Mart. vii 102, and cf. Id. i 93 11 12. Juvenal may have had that epigram in his view, or, as is more probable, the word was common in an obscene sense, cf. Lucret. iv 1272 1273; and so *arare*,

Plaut. Asin. v 2 24. **47**: *dignum cyatho coeloque*, "a Ganymede," v 56, note. **49**: *morbo*, ii 17, note. *donare* is "to spend money on." **50**: sqq. A pretty fellow this, who expects presents, instead of giving them, a fit recipient for parasols, amber and other female knick-knacks! *sucina*, vi 573, note. *cathedra*, i 64, note. *femineis kalendis* were the kalends of March, when the Matronalia were held, and the women received presents, Suet. Vesp. 19; Ovid, A. A. i 405–406, Mart. v 84. *madidum ver incipit* refers to the same time.

54: sqq. *passer*. The sparrow was supposed to be particularly lascivious, Plin. H. N. x 36. *Trifolinus ager*, "in Campania," according to Pliny, xiv 6. Martial speaks of this wine with less favour, xiii 114. **55**: *milvos . . . lassos*. *Dives arat Curibus quantum non milvus oberret*, Pers. iv 26. *Ipse Trimalchio fundos habet, qua milvi volant*, Petron. 37, *i.e.*, "large enough for kites to fly about in." *miluus* and *milvius* occur as forms in Hor. and Ov. Compare *praepotentes qui possident fines gentium quos ne circumire equis quidem valent*, Colum. R. R. i 3 12. **57**: *Gaurus* (now Monte Barbaro), in Campania, celebrated for its wine, *vineta madentia Gauri*, Stat. Many interpretations have been offered of *inanis*, and we can only conjecture, as we do not know, the exact appearance the mountain may have presented in Juvenal's time. I think it means "hollow." The whole of this part of Campania was volcanic, and Gaurus was an extinct volcano. Heinrich explains it by "minus uber, infecundus" (*fecundis vitibus implet*, by the way, having just occurred). **58**: *victuro*, because not likely to be uncorked by the niggardly owner, or because the wine was of the best kind and would keep long. **59**: *lumbos*. The use of this word does not need comment. **60**: *rusticus infans*, &c., "the inhabitants of the farm," who would, of course, go with it; compare xi 151, sqq. **62**: *Cymbala pulsantis*. This would be a *Gallus*, or priest of Cybele, vi 515, viii 176, "another filthy fellow." "You may as well leave a few acres to me for my services, as to some friend of yours among the priests of Cybele,"—says Naevolus.

64, 65: *sed . . . Ulixes*. "But (1), my slave is clamouring" (for food and raiment), my only one, as unique as Poly-

phemus' eye; or (2), as Heinrich and Macleane take it, "My slave is calling out as loud as Polyphemus with his one eye," *lata acies Polyphemi* being taken as "big-eyed Polyphemus," iv 39, note. As for the roaring of Polyphemus, cf. Virg. Aen. iii 672, sqq. But the words *per quam*, sc. *effossam*, "by the putting out of which," following, as they do, seem to limit *lata acies* to an eye, and not to allow of its being taken as a periphrasis for the bearer of the eye. **68**: What shall I say to their shoulders? *i.e.*, How shall I account for not having a garment to put on them? *ventri et scapulis*, "his inside and outside," Sen. Epp. 17. **69**: *durate*, &c., looks like a parody on Virg. Aen. i 207. *Durate et vosmet rebus servate secundis.* **75**: *tabulas quoque ruperat. redderet uxorem, rumperetque tabulas nuptiales*, Tac. Ann. xi 30. **76**: *signabat*, as *laxabant*, viii 261, "she was on the point of doing it." **78**: *lecti sonus*, Catull. 6 7. **84**: As to *libros actorum*, ii 136, note. *libris actorum spargere argumenta viri* might also mean "to sprinkle the gazettes with proofs of your virility," *i.e.*, "to insert, at intervals, the announcement of a son's or a daughter's birth." In that sense *spargere libros argumentis* or *spargere argumenta per libros*, would be a more usual construction, yet the one in the text would be quite good. But the sense I have given is preferable. And so Becker takes it, "Gallus," sc. 1, exc. 2,—"to diffuse through the medium of the acta publica." **85**: Hang up garlands in honour of the occasion, vi 51. As he had a child, he could take a whole legacy, and not as when he was childless the half of it merely, the remaining half lapsing, becoming *caducum*. Moreover, he would be entitled to take *caduca* lapsing from others. If he had three children he would obtain "jus trium liberorum," conferring further advantages, cf. Dict. G. and R. Ant., "Bona caduca" and "Leges Juliae."

92: *Negligit*, "takes no notice of me." *alium . . . asellum*, "he is looking out for another two-legged ass on which to ride." The meaning is clear. Macleane translates, "he gets himself another, a two-legged ass," and observes that the meaning is equivocal, and that the man uses words which may be taken against himself. I do not think this refinement was in the poet's head, or put by him into the speaker's mouth.

At 49 he uses, quite unconcernedly, the term *morbo*. As to *asellus* in this sense, cf. Burmann's note to Petron. 24; and Lamprid. Commod. 10. **94**: *fige*, v 12, "bury them deep." **95**: *pumice levis*, viii 16, note. *Compti semper et pumicati*, Plin. Epp. ii 11. **96**: The poet has put this in a somewhat different light in iii 49, sqq. Here the sharer of a guilty secret does not seem to get much. **97-99**: *sumere . . . dubitat;* compare vi 624. **100**: *His opibus*. So *magnis opibus*, iii 235, note. **101**: *Curia Martis Athenis*, "the Areopagus."

102: This is an imitation of Virgil, *O Corydon, Corydon, quae te dementia cepit?* Ecl. ii 69, and the idea, "What madness has seized you?" is carried out in "Do you suppose a rich man can have a secret?" *i.e.*, "Are you mad enough to suppose such a thing?" as in 69 (note), *exspectate cicadas* is a free rendering of *vosmet rebus servate secundis*. **102, 103**: *secretum . . . putas?* Compare Mart. ii 82. *Abscissa servum quid fingis Pontice, lingua? Nescis tu populum quod tacet ille loqui?* cf. Id. xi 38, and Plin. Paneg. c. 83, *Habet hoc primum magna fortuna, quod nihil tectum, nihil occultum esse patitur*. **104**: *marmora*, i 12, note. *postes*. Compare Catull. "ad januam moechae," 67. **105**: *rimas*, "chinks." Becker takes it to mean windows, "Gallus," sc. ii, exc. 1. **106**: *taceant*. The common reading here is *clamant*. P. seems to have *taceant*. Ruperti suggests *jaceant*, and Jahn has adopted it. It would be better, but wants MS. authority. **107**: The third watch of the night ἀλεκτοροφωνία was the period when the cock was supposed to crow three times. Hence the cock crowing a third time in the N. T. Here, the hangers-on and neighbours are supposed to know by daylight all that the rich man has been doing just before. Comp. Sen. de Ben. iii 27. **108**: The neighbouring tavern-keeper, to whom the servants repair for their morning dram, is the first to hear the news. A touch quite in the modern style. **109**: *quae finxerunt pariter*, "what they have invented together, in conjunction," or "at the same time," vi 20. **111**: *rumoribus*, "lies," "inventions;" *Rumoresque senum severiorum Omnes unius aestimemus assis*, Catull. 5, in the same sense. *Baltea*, "the thrashings they get with the belt." **112**:

nec deerit qui, iii 302 303. **113**: *vinosus inebriet aurem*, a striking and original expression: as if the man breathed his tipsiness into your ear. It is a wonder that the commentators have allowed it to be genuine, vi 543, note. Ears are termed *bibulae* by Persius, and *sitientes* by Cic. ad Att. ii 14. **117**: *Saufeia* occurred at vi 320. *pro populo facere* is to sacrifice on behalf of the people at the rites of Bona Dea. This was done by the Vestal virgins, cf. Aul. Gellius, i 12; and Saufeia is represented as assisting. Seneca, Epp. 97, of Clodius, *violatis religionibus ejus sacrificii quod pro populo fieri dicitur*, and Cic. ad Att. i 13, of the same affair, *cum apud Caesarem pro populo fieret. facere* for to sacrifice is not uncommon, Virg. Ecl. iii 77. *rem divinam facere*, or *sacra facere* were the full terms. ποιεῖν and ῥέζειν are similarly used in Gr. Pliny informs us that Greek wines were excluded from use in sacred rites because they contained a portion of water, H. N. xiv 19. Saufeia would drink pure wine, *merum*. We have seen from several passages in Sat. vi 300, 318–319, 425, sqq., the horror with which Juvenal regarded the tippling propensities of women, a sentiment which again breaks out in this line. An admirer of ancient times, such as he shows himself to be, would, if possible, be more shocked than we are at female drunkenness. For in the good old days, Roman women were not allowed even to taste wine, *vini usus olim Romanis feminis ignotus fuit*, Val. Max. ii 1. This statement is confirmed by a host of writers, among others by Pliny, H. N. xiv 13, whom Tertullian follows, Apol. 6.

123: is, in all probability, spurious. **126–129**: *festinat . . . senectus*. Heinrich says these are fine verses. No doubt, but *decurrere* does not go well with *flosculus* or *portio*. In fact, a flower running down is on a par with a voice shining in the darkness: which Cicero treats us to in De Leg. Agr. i 8. Many other instances might be given of the carelessness of the best Roman authors in handling their metaphors. **128**: *unguenta*, perfumes, as is well known, were esteemed by the Romans as among the greatest luxuries of life. Catullus says, jestingly, of some which he promises to a guest, *unguentum dabo quod meae puellae Donarunt Veneres Cupidinesque Quod tu cum olfacies Deos rogabis Totum ut*

te faciant Fabulle nasum, 13. Plautus couples *serta* and *unguenta*, *Tum si coronas, serta, unguenta jusserit Ancillam ferre*, Asin. iv 1 58. Lucret. iv 1132. **129**: *obrepere, subrepere*, are commonly applied to the creeping up of old age. *non intellecta*, "not distinguished." Ausonius seems to have had this passage in his recollection, Epig. xiii 3, quoted by Ruperti, *obrepsit non intellecta senectus. Nec revocare potes qui periere dies.* **131**: *Stantibus. . . collibus*, this reminds one of Horace's expression, *Incolumi Jove et urbe Roma*, Od. iii 5 12. **132**: *carpentibus et navibus*, "by land and sea." *navibus atque Quadrigis petimus bene vivere*, Hor. Epp. i 11 28 29. **133**: *Qui . . . caput*, a proverbial expression for effeminate coxcombs, who, for fear of discomposing their hair, scratch their head with a single finger, Plutarch Vit. Pomp. c. 48 and Caes. and Senec. Controv. iii 19, quoted by Macleane. See also Controv. v 30. Seneca, Epp. 52, speaks of *relatus ad caput digitus*, a sign by which this class of persons might be known, and Amm. Marcell. xvii 11, alludes to the practice, *genuino quodam more (Pompeius) caput uno scalpebat.* **134**: Do you only go on chewing rocket. This plant is twice mentioned by Pliny as an aphrodisiac, H. N. xix 8 and xx 13. *Nec minus erucas aptum vitare salaces*, Ov. Rem. Am. 799.

135, 136: *Clotho et Lachesis*, "my destinies." **137, 138**: Observe the words *parvi, minuto, tenui*, so many touches by which he indicates his poverty, iii 226 227, note. *pascitur inguine venter.* So, *mentula quem pascit.* Mart. ix 64. **139**: *figam*, a metaphor taken from hunting, i 22 23. It has also here, I think, an obscene sense. **140**: *tegete*, sqq. v 8. He will be content with about a hundred and sixty pounds a year, a few pieces of plate, even though not embossed, a couple of strapping bearers to carry his palanquin, and (being apparently a man of taste) he would like to own a couple of skilled slaves besides, one a chaser in silver, and the other to model waxen images of his supposed ancestors. His demands are not over moderate. *Fabricius* is C. Fabricius Luscinus, censor B.C. 275, who removed from the Senate P. Cornelius Rufinus, an ex-dictator and consul, for having more than ten pounds' weight of plate in his possession. *Moesorum*, strong provin-

cials from Moesia (Bulgaria and part of Servia). *Securum,* "in comfort," "at my ease," iii 196. **145**: *curvus* as κάτω νενευκὼς εἰς τὸ ἔργον. Luc. Somn. 18. **146**: *mult. fac.* Friedländer takes the meaning to be that he wishes for so many slaves, to increase his revenue by portrait-painting, iii 307, Fr. ed. (he of course reads *pingat*). **149**: *Affixit ceras,* etc. Fortuna turns a deaf ear; she seems to have filled her ears with some of the wax which Ulysses put into those of his companions to prevent their hearing the songs of the Syren. Seneca has the same image, Epp. 31, *Sapiens eris, si clauseris aures, quibus ceram parum est obdere: firmiori spissamento opus est quam usum in sociis Ulyssem ferunt. remige,* properly "a rower," iv 49, here, "a crew;" as often, *naves valido cum remige,* Tac. Ann. iv 5. *remige surdo* Mr. Munro (Mayer's Juv. i 13 note) takes as equivalent to *surdidate remigum.* See my note to i 163, where really the same point is involved as far as translating is concerned. Both in Latin and English, to say that a man escapes from a peril on a swift horse is nearly equivalent to saying that he escapes by the swiftness of his horse. The grammatical point raised by Mr. Munro as to the use of an adjective making all the difference in such a case as this, would require an excursus to do justice to it. Mr. M.'s note should be consulted. I myself venture to think that in this case *effugit remige* would be perfectly good Latin.

INTRODUCTION TO SATIRE X.

THIS is a Satire on the vanity of human wishes, and the poet says that there are few people who know what is good for them. Men pray for all sorts of things, which, when obtained, only serve to ruin them: eloquence, personal strength, great fortune and the like. The millionnaire Seneca, Lateranus, and others, perish at the bidding of a tyrant. Poor men have nothing to fear. How Democritus would have laughed if he could have witnessed some of the sights of Rome,—a triumph, for instance, with the consul in his chariot and a slave behind him to warn him that he is but a mortal!

The example of Sejanus is then cited as showing the perils to which successful ambition is exposed, and a life-like portrait is introduced of the citizens trembling and whispering together as his corpse is dragged past by the executioner. "Would it not be far better to be a country police-magistrate than Sejanus?" asks the poet. Then Pompey and Crassus and Julius Caesar are mentioned, Cicero and Demosthenes, the orators, Hannibal, Alexander, Xerxes, the warriors, all of whom are made to point his moral.

"Every one is praying for long life, above all things." Well, but what does this long life entail? The poet gives a striking picture of extreme old age, its decrepitude of body and mind, its utter loneliness. He cites Nestor and Priam. How much better for these men if they had died at an earlier period! And the same may be said of Marius and Pompey. Then mothers pray that their children may be beautiful. But to what perils will not beauty expose them? Look at Lucretia and Virginia. Handsome youths are exposed to dangers no less formidable. Look at Hippolytus and Belle-

rophon, and Silius, whose connection with Messalina was the cause of his death.

Are men then to pray for nothing? Yes, for virtue and moral qualities, leaving to the gods to decide the rest. They know what is good for us better than we do ourselves.

There is no passage in this Satire from which we can infer its date. Line 136 has been applied by some to the Column of Trajan; but this is worse than fanciful. An arch is spoken of and not a column. Arches abounded in Rome, and many of them were covered with bas-reliefs. The reference is general. Mr. Evans thinks that the sustained majesty and dignified flow of language of this Satire and its philosophical character, are proof sufficient that it must have been the finished production of a thoughtful life. If conjectures are to be admitted, I should like to conjecture the other way; that it is an early work, smacking of the declamator, while he is still trying his poetical wings on general subjects.

This is the first of Ribbeck's disputed Satires, cf. Introduction. I can only repeat here what I have already said, that there is unquestionably a considerable difference between the tone and mode of treatment of the "true" and "false" Satires; not, however, such a difference as would not be amply accounted for by the suggestion above made. The disputed Satires may be early efforts of the poet's muse, devoted, as they naturally would be, to topics of a general nature, and conventional themes,—"The Vanity of Human Wishes," "A Shipwreck," "The Perfidy of a Friend," &c. They would naturally be full of mythological allusions, and contain very little about living persons or contemporary usages, with a good deal of the frothy declamation habitual to youth, and from which the poet never entirely freed himself. His success in the recitations may have led him on to compositions in which, with a maturer experience of the world, he lashed the vices of his own country and of his own day; and such compositions would require a somewhat different mode of treatment, and would, from their very nature, deal with what was passing around him; while practice would have matured his taste, and modified his tendency to inflated writing. The earlier Satires, with alterations, may have been first published (as

distinguished from "recited") in the order in which they now stand. At any rate this is a theory which is not impossible, and for no other theory on this subject can more be said. We must deal with the Satires as they have come down to us, and not even the "higher criticism" of Ribbeck will suffice to overthrow the presumption that they are, as they have always been supposed to be, the work of one and the same person.

Compare, in reference to Ribbeck's theory, v 26, *Jurgia proludunt*, with xv 51 52, *Jurgia prima sonare Incipiunt;* ix 43, *An facile et pronum est* . . . with xiii 75; *Tam facile et pronum est* . . . and the striking similarity of idea in iii 310, *Maximus in vinclis ferri modus*, with the expression in xiv 266-277, *plus homimum est jam In pelago.* Compare also xiii 137 with xvi 41; ix 141 with x 19; i 25 with x 226; x 365 with xiv 315. It has been well remarked that imitators do not borrow whole lines from the authors they imitate.

NOTES TO SATIRE X.

1, 2: *a Gadibus . . . Gangen*, "from the extreme West to the furthest East; from one end of the world to the other." So *Ultro Sauromatas*, for, "the ends of the earth," ii 1, and *Gadibus* is similarly used in Cic. de Domo. s. 30. **3**: *dignoscere* is used in the same construction by Pers. v 25. *dignoscere cautus Quid solidum crepet et pictae tectoria linguae*. *illis multum diversa* is, as Heinrich says, "a euphemism." **4**: *erroris nebula*, "the mist of error," what Plato calls τὴν ἀχλὺν τῆς ψυχῆς. And so, *densissimis tenebris involuta mortalium mens*, Val. Max. vii 2, ext. 1, an expression which the poet may have had in his memory, as we shall have occasion to see that he has laid the whole passage under contribution. *ratione* is the French "avec raison." Pliny uses it in the same way, *aedifico jam ratione quia tecum*, Epp. ix 7. **5**: *dextro pede* means "auspiciously," because the right foot, according to the ancients, ought to be moved first; and this was the reason why, according to Vitruvius, temples were built with uneven steps, that the right foot might be set on the first step and the same foot put forward on entering the temple, Vitruv. iii 3; Petron. 30; Propert. iii 1 6. Similarly it was thought unlucky to put on the left shoe first, as we learn from a curious passage of Sueton. Aug. 92. So *pessimo pede domum nostram accessit*, "most inauspiciously," App. Met. vi 126. The same notion still lingers in the old German folklore rule that to get out of bed left foot first will bring a bad day; and in the phrase often heard from an English nurse to a naughty child, "you got out of bed wrong foot foremost, this morning." See Tylor's "Primitive Culture." **7, 8**: *Evertere domos*, etc. This may be a reminiscence of Cicero. *cupiditates . . . non modo singulos homines, sed universas familias everterunt*, or of Valerius Maximus, *haec . . . ita nonnumquam funditus domos ever-*

terunt, vii 2, ext. 1, or both. Seneca often has the same sentiment, (*Dei*) *aliquando specie boni puniunt*, Epp. 95. *ista quae urunt, quae excruciant, optantibus data sunt*, Epp. 22. *deos ora, ne quid tibi ex his quae optantur eveniat*, Epp. 31. *quidquid optavi, inimicorum exsecrationem puto*, de Vit. Beat. 2. Juvenal draws largely on Seneca throughout this Satire; and both of them from Plato. The passage in which Juvenal is held directly to have imitated Plato, particularly Alcib. ii, has been frequently pointed out. Statius has something like this, *Fatalem populis ultro poscentibus horam Admovet atra dies*, Theb., viii 375. **8**: *Di faciles. Riserunt faciles et tribuere Dei*, Mart. i 104 4, Id. xii 6 10. *toga* is here opposed to *militia*, as at viii 240, to *gladius*. **9**: *torrens*, a favourite epithet of Juvenal's for an orator. *Isaeo torrentior*, iii 74, and below, 128. **10, 11**: *viribus ille*, etc. The scholiast says this refers to Milo of Crotona, the athlete, "wedged in the timber which he strove to rend." So nearly all the commentators take it, rightly I think. Macleane thinks *ille* refers to the soldier, as opposed to the orator. He and Heinrich read *admirandus*. But the weight of MS. authority is in favour of *admirandis*, and, if Milo be meant, I think it is preferable for the sense. He perished through trusting in his strength and *in* his wondrous arms. *Ille* is used here of a celebrated person, who is not named, but whose name is supposed to be familiar, as *haec* of Phaedra, below 326, of this Satire. **13**: *cuncta patrimonia*, "all other fortunes," as *cunctis ephebis*, "all the other young men," ii 164, &c. I prefer this to "fortunes larger than those their fathers left them." *patrimonium* came to signify property generally, cf. xii 50, *facere patrimonia* (if genuine). At any rate, whenever that line was written, this meaning of the word was recognised. Seneca's wealth might well be said to exceed that of other men, if, as Tacitus and Dio inform us, he was worth three hundred thousand sestertia, which would be something like two millions and a half sterling, Tac. Ann. xiii 42; Dio lxi 10. **14**: *balaena Britannica*, "the whale of the northern seas."

15: *Temporibus diris*, "in that reign of terror," *peste et clade sub illa* iv 84. **16**: sqq. *Longinum*, "the house of Longinus," as *Cererem*, "the temple of Ceres," ix 24. C. Cas-

sius Longinus, the celebrated jurist banished by Nero, for no other reason, says Tacitus, than his great wealth and high character, though the pretext was that he had among his ancestral images that of Cassius, the murderer of Caesar, Ann. xvi 7. Suetonius says he was blind, and that he was put to death, Nero, 27. *Lateranus* suffered death, like Seneca, as being implicated in the conspiracy of Piso against Nero, viii 212, note. He was Consul designatus. Tacitus, in speaking of Seneca's arrest, says, *Illo propinqua vespera tribunus venit et villam globis militum saepsit,* Ann. xv 60. The change in tense in *clausit* and *obsidet* should be observed, i 155, note. **18**: *rarus . . . miles,* "tyrants' soldiers are seldom sent to fetch people out of garrets." The comparative safety of the poor in times of trouble has always been a common theme, *praedam civilibus armis Scit non esse casas,* Luc. v 526 527; Lucian, &c. *coenacula* were the upper parts of the house, let out in lodgings to the poorer citizens, Hor. Epp. i 1 91; Mart. i 109 3. Compare Juv. iii 201, *Ultimus ardebit quem tegula sola tuetur A pluvia,* and Id. iii 234. Varro gives us the reason for the name, *Posteaquam in superiore parte coenitare coeperunt, superioris domus universa coenacula dicta.* In Plaut. Amphit. iii 1, Amphitryon says, *Ego sum ille Amphitruo . . . In superiore qui habito coenaculo Qui interdum fio Jupiter, quando libet,* where the actor is made to jest at the humble condition of actors in general. They lived, many of them (as now), in garrets. **19**: *argenti vascula puri.* We had the same words at ix 141. Ribbeck (who disputes the genuineness of this, the twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth Satires) says *puri* is out of place here. But why? "It may be only a few small articles of plain silver." R. goes on to ask, how the robber can distinguish, by night, real silver from false? But the point is not as to what the robber can distinguish, but what the sensations of a traveller are. And *purus* does not mean "pure," but "plain." Juvenal may have had in his eye people taking plate with them on their journeys, in consequence of the bad accommodation at inns. Becker. sc. 6, who quotes Mart. vi 94. **20**: *gladium contumque,* sc. of the bandit, footpad. Ribbeck asks why *contus,* a Sarmatian weapon, is put into the hands of a Roman footpad, and,

among other passages, quotes Tac. Ann. vi 35. But why not quote the same author, Hist. i 44 and iii 27, in both of which *contus* is applied to the Roman pike? Really this is criticism run mad. **22** : Compare Sen. Epp. 14, *nudum latro transmittit, etiam in obsessa via pauperi pax est.* Ovid had said the same thing before, in lines which were probably in our author's memory, *Sic timet insidias, qui scit se ferre viator Cui timeat; tutum carpit inanis iter*, Nux. 43 44. Compare App. Met. i 11. *An ignoras, inepte, nudum nec a decem palaestritis despoliari posse?* οὐδεὶς ἀδικεῖ πένητας seems to have been a proverb; *cui noceri non potest*, as Seneca renders it, de Tranq. An. 8. **25** : *arca.* Wealthy men, it would seem, lodged their strong-boxes in the Forum, probably with the *argentarii* who carried on business there. The remains of what are supposed to have been their offices, *tabernae* (seven in number), are still to be seen in the forum at Pompeii. Compare xiv 259, sqq. **26** : *Fictilibus*, "common earthenware," iii 168. *Scelera non intrant casas Tutusque mensa capitur angusta cibus, Venenum in auro bibitur*, Sen. Thyest. 451, sqq. One author clearly copies from the other. *pocula gemmata*, v 43. What has preceded is, in a great measure, an amplification of Seneca, Oct. 895, *bene paupertas Humili tecto contenta latet; Quatiunt altas saepe procellae Aut evertit Fortuna domos.* **27** : *quis puer ocius Restinguet ardentis Falerni Pocula praetereunte lympha?* Hor. Od. ii 11 19. Macleane says *ardere* refers to the brightness of the wine, not its spirit. It certainly refers to its strength in this passage of Horace, and, I think, it does here. Compare Eurip. Alc. 758, φλὸξ οἴνου. *Setinum*, v 34, note. Strabo speaks of it as being one of the most expensive of wines in his time, τῶν πολυτελῶν (οἴνων) ἕνα, v 10. **28** : sqq. *de sapientibus alter*, Democritus, of Abdera, the laughing philosopher, *contrarius auctor*, Heracleitus, of Ephesus, the weeping philosopher. *auctor* is preferable to *alter*, another reading which is very tame. Seneca has two passages in which these two philosophers are introduced, de Ira. ii 10, and de Tr. An. 15, which our author may have had in view, though Seneca there is merely giving the popular tradition, as Juvenal here.

34, 35 : *urbibus illis*, in Abdera and Ephesus and the cities of those days. The *trabea* and *fasces* were mentioned

in viii 259 260. The former was a toga ornamented with purple horizontal stripes, worn by the consuls on certain public occasions, and by the equites in their annual procession. It had been originally a royal robe. There were also other kinds, cf. Dict. G. and R. Ant. "Toga." *tribunal.* Though there were no praetextae, &c., in the cities with which Democritus was acquainted, there must have been tribunals, and I do not think the introduction of the word very happy here. "No such corrupt tribunals as ours," must be the meaning. That of the praetor is intended. **36**: sqq. The praetor presiding over the games, viii 194, is introduced as an object which might have excited the laughter of Democritus. But the poet soon goes off into the description of a triumph, and the praetor becomes a consul. The praetor in his chariot at the games, and the triumphing consul, would present a certain resembance to the eye of the satirist, and would induce him to class them together, with the view of inserting fresh touches, and heightening the effect; compare xi 194 195, where, at the Megalesian games, *similisque triumpho . . . Praetor sedet.* *tunica Jovis,* otherwise *tunica palmata,* Mart. vii 2, was a flowered tunic worn by the triumpher, and taken for the occasion from the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. An embroidered toga, *toga picta,* was worn with it. *Sarrana* is Tyrian, *i.e.,* of purple, from Sarra, or Sara, the ancient name of Tyre, *purpuram ex Sara tibi Attuli,* Plaut. Truc. ii 6 58. *aulaea,* "like curtains," in ridicule of their great size. **39**: sqq. *magnae coronae,* &c. One of the public slaves is in the same chariot as the victor, to keep down his pride; this slave holds a crown. Plin., H. N. xxxiii 1, speaks of the slave holding this crown, which he describes as being of gold; and in H. N. xxviii 2, there is another passage which, in conjunction with this one, may have given rise to the statement of later writers (*ex gr.* Tertullian), that it was the slave's business to whisper to the victor the words *respice post te, hominem memento te.* The words of Pliny, according to the best reading, are *similis medicina linguae, ut sit exorata a tergo Fortuna gloriae carnifex,* —"Equally salutary is the medicine administered to him by the tongue, in order that Fortune the destroyer of glory may

be appeased behind his back." **45**: *officia*, "the clients," the thing for the person, viii 205, note. *niveos*, "albatos," iii 178, note; and compare Mart. viii 65 (to Domitian), *Hic lauro redimita comas, et candida cultu Roma salutavit voce manuque ducem.* *ad fr. Quir.*, comp. Eurip. Hipp. 1196, πύλας χαλινῶν ἑπόμεσθα δεσπότῃ. **46**: *Defossa*, "hidden," "buried deep;" *Defodiet (aetas) condetque nitentia*, Hor. Epp. i 6 25; *defodit se et abdidit*, Sen. Cons. ad Marc. 2; *Condit avarus opes, defossumque invenit aurum*, Petron. 104. *loculis*, small boxes with compartments, made of ivory, wood, &c., i 89. This being a special occasion, the clients would of course receive a handsome gratuity, *sportula*, to attend and make a show. **50**: *Abdera*, in Thrace, the birthplace of Democritus, was proverbial for the stupidity of its inhabitants. *Abderitanae pectora plebis habes*, Mart. x 25, *i.e.*, "you are a blockhead." *vervex*, "a wether," seems to have been used for "a stupid fellow." Several examples are given in Forcell. Horace has something not unlike these lines, *Multos saepe viros nullis majoribus ortos Et vixisse probos, amplis et honoribus auctos*, Sat. i 6 10 11; and line 50 seems to be imitated from Horace, Epp. ii 1 244 (quoted by Macleane). Cic. de Nat. Deor. ii 16 speaks of the mental inferiority of those *qui utuntur crasso coelo atque concreto.* See the whole passage. **53**: *medium . . . unguem*, "the middle finger," which was the finger of scorn, *infamis digitus*, Pers. ii 33. Why, it is impossible to say. Forcell. says, "propter penis similitudinem." *In hunc intende digitum: hic leno est*, Plaut. Pseud. iv 7 47; Mart. vi 70 5.

54: Observe the hiatus after *supervacua;* compare i 151, ii 26, &c. *Ad supervacua sudatur*, Sen. Epp. 4. **55**: *fas* is a singular expression, and so it is at 257, as Ribbeck has not failed to notice. *incerare genua* is "to inscribe one's prayer on waxen tables and affix them to the images of the gods." Compare Hor. Od. i 5 13, sqq. θεῶν ἐν γούνασι, Hom. Madvig suggested a longer stop after *petuntur*, and *incerate* for *incerare.* I do not altogether see, that "the abruptness of the verse with this reading would be enough to condemn it;" but there are other objections, and it is best to adhere to *incerare*, the reading of all the MSS. **57**: *mergit.* Mr. Evans renders "sinks into the dust," and quotes, Silius viii 287, *mergente*

Consule. This is perhaps better than to give the verb an active sense, as it is certainly harsh to talk of the tablet which records a man's honours "sinking him," as though, says Ribbeck, it were tied round his neck like a mill-stone. **63**: Sejanus is introduced as an illustration, the favourite of Tiberius. The story of this man is well known, and is familiar to many English readers through Ben Jonson's tragedy of "Sejanus." When arrived at the height of greatness, and the second man in the Empire, he was put to death in consequence of an ambiguous despatch received by the Senate from Tiberius (then living in retirement at Capreae), and who had begun to suspect his designs, A.D. 31. *ingens* seems to have a double reference to the greatness of Sejanus himself, and the size of his colossal statue. **64**: *matellae* seems much more forcible than *patellae* the usual reading, and I have very little doubt that it is the word Juvenal really used. Dio says the people threw down and broke up all the statues of Sejanus. His fall naturally caused a profound impression (Seneca says it was accompanied by a portent in the heavens, N. Q. i 1, a not unusual accompaniment of that sort of affairs), and Dio, writing more than a century and a half after the event, speaks of it as a signal warning against arrogance, lviii 11. Velleius Paterculus, in a panegyrical passage on this same Sejanus, speaks of him as *semper infra aliorum aestimationes se metientem*, ii 127; but this was written before his fall. The habit of demolishing the statues of deposed popular idols was common in Rome, Suet. Domit. 23; as it has been in all ages and countries, *viz.*, lately in the case of the First and Third Napoleons.

65: "Ornament the house as for a festive occasion," vi 51, ix 85. A white ox was preferred for sacrificing, Ov. Pont. iv 9 50, and if there were any dark spots about him it would seem that they were chalked. Some old poet (called Lucretius by the scholiast, but the line does not occur in what we have by him) appears to have had the line, *Cretatumque bovem duci ad Capitolia magna.* **66**: For *uncus*, cf. Hor. Od. i 35 20; Propert. iv 1 141; Ovid Ibis. 168, and Lucan. vi 637, where the manner in which it was used is explained, *trajecto gutture corpus Ducit et inserto laqueis feralibus unco. ducere* is common for, "to lead off the condemned." Pliny, in his cele-

brated letter to Trajan on the Christians, writes *perseverantes duci jussi, i.e.*, "to be led to execution." *Conscendit tribunal Piso ac jubet duci utrumque*, Sen. de Ira. Here, it is the body of Sejanus which is drawn along. Sen., de Tr. An. 11, says, the people tore his body to pieces, and that nothing was left for the executioner to drag along. So, after the assassination of Commodus, the cry was *unco trahatur!* Lamprid. Comm. 17 and 19. **67**: A conversation follows between two citizens. **70**: *quibus indiciis*, &c., vi 220. **71**: *verbosa . . . a Capreis*, from Capreae, where Tiberius was living, 93. This letter is described by Dio., lviii 10, who, in that and the following chapter, gives an interesting account of the fall of Sejanus. **73**: *turba Remi.* The poets often used *Remus* for *Romulus*, for a change, or "when it suited their metre," as Macleane says. Catullus, speaking of his former mistress, Lesbia, says, *Nunc in quadriviis et angiportis Glubit magnanimos Remi nepotes*, 58. *culminibus Remi vagantes*, Stat. Silv. ii 7 60. **74**: *Nurtia*, an Etruscan goddess, Livy vii 3. *Tusco.* Sejanus was born at Vulsinii in Etruria. "If the deity of his country had favoured her son." **75**: *opprimere* is common for "to catch any one off his guard," *inscios inopinantesque Menapios oppresserunt*, Caes. B.G. iv 4. **77**: "since we left off selling our votes;" a satirical way of saying, "since we have ceased to have any votes to sell," "since we have been deprived of the suffrage," viii 211. Tiberius was the author of this change, Tac. Ann. i 15. **78, 79**: *qui dabat imperium*, &c., compare Hor. Epp. i 6 7, *amici dona Quiritis. fasces*, consulships, &c. From 72 to 81, *sed quid . . . . Circenses*, are taken by some as the poet's reflections, others put them into the mouth of one or other of the speakers, see 88 89, note. *Circenses*, iii 223, xi 194, sqq. *plebs sordida et circo ac theatris sueta*, Tac. Hist. i 4. *panem*, "bread," generally. All that the people care for is bread to eat, and public shows to amuse them. Friedländer, bk. vi, expresses the opinion that *panem et Circenses* was a proverbial expression. He points out that much the same expression is found in two other writers of the second century, Dion. Chrysostom and Fronto.

83: *Brutidius.* A Brutidius Niger, aedile in A.D. 22, is mentioned by Tacitus and quoted by Seneca. This may be

the man. The altar of Mars was in the Campus Martius. **84**: *victus.* Ribbeck objects to this epithet. Tiberius (Ajax) was not *victus.* There is certainly force in this objection. But the poet has in his mind the legend of Ajax conquered by Ulysses, and the mad rage which seized on him after his defeat, when he butchered the sheep, thinking they were his enemies. So the speaker is represented as fearing that a similar butchering frenzy will seize Tiberius, whom he compares to Ajax, and, as Ajax was conquered, he affixes the epithet *victus* to *him*, without seeming to notice that it does not fit Tiberius. "I am afraid that we are going to have a repetition of the story of conquered Ajax—an indiscriminate massacre." There is something not unlike this in ii 109, where *moesta* is applied to Cleopatra, because the epithet suits her generally, while it does not suit her at the particular moment to which it is made to refer. **88, 89**: *hi sermones . . . vulgi.* Such was the sort of talk held on the subject of Sejanus, and such also were the mutterings of the vulgar, *i.e.*, the vulgar talked in the same way. *secreta murmura vulgi* cannot be held to apply to the specimen of conversation given above: (1) it is that of people who are afraid of being involved in the fall of Sejanus, which could not affect the herd; (2) they talk of their slaves; (3) if, as is best, we throw from 72 to 81 into the conversation, it is obviously far above the level indicated by *murmura vulgi. Turba Remi, idem populus,* &c., are conclusive. Some give 73–81: *Sequitur fortunam—Circenses* to the poet; but *hac ipsa hora* is against this.

90: *salutari,* "to have a crowd of people at your morning levee," iii 184. **91**: *illi.* Ribbeck says this ought to be *huic.* But *ille, ille* are used in this way, *Quia enim in illis fructus est; in illis opera luditur,* Ter. Phorm. ii 2 18. *ille vel ille,* Mart. vii 10 2. *Hic* and *hic* occur at vi 610. **93**: *angusta,* another reading is *augusta.* There is a similar MSS. variation between *angusta* and *augusta* in Virg. Georg. iv 228, and in both cases *augusta* would stand, with a dash of irony. **94**: *Cum grege Chaldaeo,* vi 553. The small island of Capreae (Capri) was the favourite abode of Tiberius, who was nicknamed "Caprineus," as Suetonius tells us, from that circumstance and his goatish propensities. Both Sueton. and Dio.

mention his addiction to astrology. *pila*, the position of *primipilus centurio*, who had charge of the eagle of the legion, xiv 197; cf. Dict. G. and R. Ant. "Exercitus," p. 505 of the second edition. *cohortes.* There were ten cohorts to a legion. *egregios equites.* There is great doubt as to the meaning of these words. Heinrich and Macleane, following Lipsius on Tac. Ann. xi 4, take them to refer to the knights who were allowed to wear the "latus clavus" of Senators. But the poet is speaking about the army. *castra domestica*, "the praetorians." The meaning of "you would like to have centurionships, cohorts," &c., is, "You would like to have them in your gift,—you would like to have the right to appoint to companies and battalions, to have a picked body of cavalry at your disposal, and the command of the guards." **96, 97**: *qui nolunt occidere quemquam Posse volunt.* Compare with this Ovid, Her. xii 75. *Perdere posse sat est, si quem juvat (juvet) ipsa potestas. Etiamsi non sit molestus dominus, tamen est miserrimum posse si velit*, Cic. Phil. viii 4. **97**: *tanti.* This is much better than *tantum*, which Heinrich and Macleane read, and which gives a feebler sense. The meaning is, "What fortune can be so brilliant as to be worth expiating by a corresponding measure of disaster?"—a common use of *tanti*, cf. xiii 96. In xiv 314, we have Alexander spoken of as one *qui totum sibi posceret orbem, Passurus gestis aequanda pericula rebus.* **99**: *trahitur*, the present tense, i 155, note. **102**: *Ulubris.* Ulubrae is derived as a type for a small place, from Horace, as we have already observed, vi 56, note, was the case with Fidenae and Gabii, *quod petis, hic est, Est Ulubris animus si te non deficit aequus*, Epp. i 11 30. Yet Fidenae must have been a place of some slight importance as late as the reign of Tiberius, if we are to believe that more than fifty thousand persons could have been collected together to see the games in the amphitheatre, Tac. Ann. iv 62 63; Sueton. Tib. 40. I do not think the poet intended to repeat *mensura* at 101 after using the word at 98. It seems to have lingered in his ear and found its way in again, as will often happen in composition. Another instance of the same kind will be found in vi 49 50, *contigerit*, with *contingere* in the next line, which certainly was not an intentional repetition. Compare vi 264 266. These

are indications which support the view I have always held that these Satires never received a final revision. See note to 103 104. *pannosus aedilis*, "ragged country Podestas," iii 179, and Pers. i 129 130. The poet may have had in his mind a passage in Cicero's letters (*Antium*) *ubi ego quidem mallem Duumvirum quam Romae me fuisse*, ad Att. ii 6.

103, 104: *optandum, optabat.* Here *optare* seems to be purposely repeated. This kind of repetition is a trick of our author's, and is sometimes forcibly employed; compare vii 10, *Et vendas potius commissa quod auctio vendit.* viii 29 30, *Exclamare libet populus quod clamat Osiri Invento.* viii 93 94, *damnante Senatu . . . sed quid damnatio confert?* viii 159 160, *Syrophoenix . . . Syrophoenix* (if the second line be genuine). viii 189, *populo: populi.* viii 192 193, *vendant . . . vendunt* (not to speak of 194). ix 18 19, *deprendas . . . deprendas,* below, 118, *uterque . . . utrumque.* 119 120, *ingenii . . . ingenio.* 191 192, *deformem . . . deformem.* vii 145 146 147. x 359 361, *labores, labores.* vi 146 147; 157 158; 34 35, 56 57, 208 209, 483 484, *nimios nimias*, here, i 3 4, vii 50 51, vii 135 136 222 225 and 223; xiv 90 91; xvi 60; vii 176; viii 112 114; x 115. The sentiment is a very common one with the Latin poets, *celsae graviore casu Decidunt turres*, Hor. Od. ii 10. *Cur plus, ardua, casibus patetis?* Stat. Silv. ii 7 91. *summisque negatum Stare diu*, Lucan.; and is constantly to be found among the Greeks, *πολλοῖσι γὰρ δὴ ὑποδέξας ὄλβον ὁ θεὸς προῤῥίζους ἀνέτρεψε*, Herod. i 32, Soph. Aj. 758, sqq. But the particular passage which Juvenal had in his eye may, I think, have been Sen. Oct. 379, sqq., *Quid me . . . Fortuna . . . Alte extulisti, gravius ut ruerem edita Receptus arce?* *praeceps* is here a substantive, as often, *ex. gr.*, *exanimantur quoties despexerunt in illud magnitudinis suae praeceps*, Sen. Epp. 94. *subiti praeceps juvenile pericli*, Stat. Silv. i 4 51. **108, 109**: He instances the three who are generally known as the first Triumvirate, Crassus, Pompey, and Caesar. *Crassos* and *Pompeios* each refer to one person only, viii 11, note. Plutarch uses a very similar expression in reference to Caesar, *δεδεγμένοι τον χαλινον* (the Romans). **110**: sqq., *summus locus.* Ribbeck here has one of his criticisms. How, he asks, could a lofty position overthrow any one? The effort to gain it might. To which

it might be sufficient to answer that *summus locus petitus* might be translated "seeking after the highest place," cf. i 163, note. These men were *feliciores antequam felicissimi fierent*, to use Pliny's happy expression, Epp. v 18. *nulla non arte petitus.* The poet here certainly had in his mind Seneca, who speaks of *illos quos honores, nulla non arte atque opera petiti, discruciant*, Epp. 95; and in the next line there is probably a reminiscence of another passage of the same author, *maligni dii qui nos exaudierunt*, &c., *exaudita* is the French "exaucés." *generum Cereris*, Pluto. So *Veneris marito* for Vulcan.

115: *Quinquatria.* A festival of Minerva held in March, properly of one day (the 19th), but to which four days came to be added, so that it amounted to five in all, Ov. Fast. iii 809, sqq., though the name is not derived from that circumstance, but from its commencing on the fifth day after the Ides of March, Aul. Gell. ii 21; cf. Dict. G. and R. Ant. It would seem from this passage and Hor. Epp. ii 2 197, *Ac potius puer ut festis quinquatribus olim Exiguo gratoque fruaris tempore raptim*, that schoolboys had a holiday during this period, Symmach. Epp. 5 85, quoted by Orell. **116**: *adhuc uno asse* must be taken together. Every boy who has just gone to school for the first time; who has made a single payment to his teacher; the "entrance-fee," *minerval*, Becker, "Gallus," scene 1, exc. 2. **117**: The little boy is accompanied by a little slave, *capsarius*, who carries a box of books, &c. Naturally, a home-born slave, *vernula*, would be selected for such a purpose. In the seventh satire, the boy's *custos* apparently accompanied him to school, on the occasion of payment being made to the tutor, vii 218. Compare Hor. Sat. i 6 74 75. **118**: *perit*, vi 559. **119**: *ing. fons.* Cic. has *flumen ingenii* pro Marcell. 2. **120**: *ingenio* I prefer taking as the dative, and not the instrumental ablative. "It was precisely this *genius* that had its hands and head cut off." Valer. Max. uses the word much in the same way when speaking of Euripides, *Crudelitas fati tanto ingenio non debita*, ix 12 ext., or it may be for "the man of genius," abstract for concrete, of which we have had many examples, *ex gr.*, *officia*, 45. Cicero's head and hands, after being cut off, were fixed on the rostra. **122**: This was a line of Cicero's which Quintilian tells us

was much ridiculed, *non desierunt carpere maligni*, Inst. Or. xi 1. Turnebus, ad Quint. Inst. Or. ix 4, where the line is also quoted, tells us that Cicero wrote it in jest ("lusit"), but I am afraid this won't do. Martial has a fling at Cicero's poetry, *Carmina quod scribis Musis et Apolline nullo, Laudari debes; hoc Ciceronis habes*, ii 89, and Seneca implies that his verses were laughed at, de Ira. iii 37. Similar jingles occur in *res mihi invisae visae sunt Brute*, quoted by Quint. from Cicero, but the epistle referred to is lost, *Id cum studuisti, isti formae ut mores consimiles forent*, Ter. Heaut. Tim. ii 4 2, and in the well-known *Taedet quotidianarum harum formarum*, of the same poet, Eun. ii 3 6, where, however, the repetition is a great beauty. **123**: Cf. Cic. Phil. ii 46, *Contempsi Catilinae gladios, non pertimescam tuos.* The sledge-hammer style of the second and other Philippics would naturally be to Juvenal's taste. **126**: *volveris*, in reference to the form of Roman books. *proximus a primo* is the second (*proximus primo* is also used), *a prima proxima segnis erit*, Ov. Rem. Am. 404, in reference to which the first would be *proximus prior. proximus superior* and *inferior* are similar expressions, Tac. Ann. i 77, and Ernesti's note. **126**: sqq. relate to Demosthenes. In reality, his father was an opulent sword-manufacturer, who left a considerable property. But it suited the poet's present purpose to represent him as a working smith. A much worse fault is to be found in the moral which is deduced from all this about Cicero and Demosthenes. The ridiculous poems of the former were not to be preferred to the Philippics, even though these may have cost their author his life. Nor would it have been better, either for himself or the world, for Demosthenes to have remained a sword-maker all his life. Juvenal did not mean to discourage a laudable ambition, but he does it here. *Vulcano* is "the fire," as *Veneris marito*, at vii 25.

133: sqq. look like a description of bas-reliefs on a triumphal arch. *Bellorum exuviae*, "the spoils of war," and what follows is merely an amplification of this. In other words, "military glory," or, as Horace puts it, *Res gerere et captos ostendere civibus hostes Attingit solium Jovis et coelestia tentat*, Epp. i 17 33 34. *tropaeis*, cf. Dict. G. and R. Ant.,

where an engraving is given. *aplustre* is shown under "Navis," of the same publication. It was a flag in the stern of the ship. *tristis captivus*, "the figures of sorrowing captives sculptured on the arch." There are five of these triumphal arches left in Rome. *causas*, "incentives," "motives," viii 84. **139**: *Humanis majora bonis, i.e.*, "than all others," of which construction we have had examples before. **145**: *caprificus*. The wild fig-tree was planted about the tombs, and by insinuating its roots into their crevices, would, no doubt, often destroy them, *Marmora Messalae findit caprificus*, Mart. x 2; Hor. Epod. 5 17; Propert. iv 5 73. **146**: Compare Mart. i 89, *Accipe non Phario nutantia pondera saxo Quae cineri vanus dat ruitura labor*, and Auson. Epigr. 35 10, *Mors etiam saxis nominibusque venit*, Propert. iii 2 19. Lucretius has *non lapides quoque vinci cernis ab aevo?* v 307. Heinrich condemns this line, as well as 187 below, *Has toties optata exegit gloria poenas*, as well as a host of other lines of the same character: that is to say, lines which have a complete meaning in themselves, which might be omitted without the passages in which they stand becoming less intelligible, and which have something of an explanatory character, as it were summing up what has preceded in a kind of *apophthegma*, or "saw," *ex gr.*, i 14, v 66 140. The reader will decide for himself the question, whether it is more likely that these lines are interpolations by another hand, or that they form one of the characteristic features of the poet's style. Juvenal, it must be remembered, is always highly didactic when he finds the opportunity. We have strong reason to suppose the tradition correct which represents him as having begun by declaiming; and, to me at least, these *sententiae* or apophthegms are exactly in his manner, and harmonise with the tone of his declamatory poetry.

147: Put Hannibal in the scales, how many pounds' weight will you find remaining? Not "weigh the case of Hannibal," which is nonsense. Hannibal is not a very happy illustration of what has preceded. He fought, not for glory merely; the struggle in which his life was spent was a struggle for life and death, for national existence, between his own country and a foreign foe. Carthage went to war with

Rome, as Mommsen truly says, bk. iii, chap. 4, "in order to secure for herself an existence that should not be dependent on the good-will of the enemy," and Hannibal was her general. **149**: *Niloque tepenti. tepidique toreumata Nili*, Mart. xi 11. **151**: *imperiis*, "to his empire," poetically, *i.e.*, to the empire of Carthage. **153**: sqq. *aceto.* The story of the vinegar is told by Livy. The particular pass by which Hannibal crossed the Alps has been made the subject of animated discussions, like those as to the points of embarkation in Gaul and landing in Britain of Julius Caesar. The better opinion seems to be that he went over the little St. Bernard. **155**: *Nil actum credens cum quid superesset agendum*, Lucan, ii 657. **156**; *fregimus* might stand here if there were MS. authority. *Subura*, iii 5. **158**: *bellua*, properly, a large beast (we had it used of a fish, in iv 127), is often used κατ' ἐξοχήν, of an elephant, xii 104; Ter. Eun. iii 1 25. *luscus*, because he lost one of his eyes from ophthalmia, Livy, xxii 2. **160**: *Nempe* is a favourite word of Juvenal's. It might mean here, and at 185, "assuredly," in the sense of "as we know;" "as you see." Hannibal fled to the court of Prusias, King of Bithynia, and the poet represents him here as a client of that prince, humbly waiting till his Majesty should wake and condescend to grant him an audience. Hannibal took poison concealed in a ring, to avoid falling into the hands of the Romans, who would, of course, have put him to death, after the fashion of the times, and in the same way as they murdered conquered chieftains in cold blood on the occasion of a triumph. In *annulus vindex Cannarum* there is an allusion to the bushels of rings picked up after Cannae, one "modius," according to Livy, two modii in Florus, and three in Pliny. **166, 167**: are familiar to most readers in the English dress which they assume in Dr. Johnson's imitation, "He left a name at which the world grew pale, To point a moral or adorn a tale." As to *pueris placeas*, &c., cf. vii 150; Pers. iii 45, sqq.

168: sqq. *Pellaeo juveni*, Alexander, a native of Pella. Martial applies the epithet to Alexandria, xiii 85. *non sufficit orbis*, Lucan, v 356. *Alexandro orbis angustus est*, M. Sen. Suas., where we have also *Imperium tuum claudit Oceanus.* These were rhetorical common-places. **170**: *Gyarus*, i 73; *Seriphus*, vi

564, small islands in the Cyclades, used as places of banishment; wretched places, inhabited by a few fishermen and destitute of cultivation. **171**: *a figulis munitam urbem*, Babylon, which is said to have been built of brick, *latere cocto quo Semiramis longam Babylona cinxit*, Mart. ix 76. *dicitur altam Coctilibus muris cinxisse Semiramis urbem*, Ov. Met. iv 57. Alexander died here. **173**: sqq. *creditur olim Velificatus Athos.* This is an allusion to the canal cut by Xerxes through the promontory of Acte, or Athos (at one end of which stood Mount Athos), for the passage of his fleet. Though Juvenal laughs at this (and Niebuhr has done the same), traces of it have been discovered, Dict. G. and R. Geog., "Athos;" Penny Cyclopaedia, *ad voc.*, thus confirming, as in many other cases he has been similarly confirmed, the statements of Herodotus. Compare Catull. 66 45. *Cum Medi pepercre novum mare, cumque juventus Per medium classi barbara navit Atho*, Stat. Silv. iv 3 56, sqq.; Lucan, ii 676. **175**: refers to the bridge of boats across the Hellespont, and what follows is another allusion to the narrative of Herodotus, who says that certain rivers were dried up by the hosts of Xerxes. This, as Macleane well observes, is easily explained. "These rivers were not perennial streams. The army could only find water-holes in many of them, and these they may have exhausted." Trebell. Poll. has *epotata flumina* (speaking of the same event) Claud. 6. **178**: *madidis alis.* Ov., Met. i 264, has *madidis Notus evolat alis.* Here it may mean "in his drunken flights." It would be quite after the manner of Juvenal to speak of "drunken wings," vi 657, note. Ovid has *bibulae Cupidinis alae*, A. A. i 233. Sostratus is unknown. **180**: *Corus, Eurus*, "the north-west and south-east winds," for any winds. **181**: *Aeolio in carcere*, cf. i 8 and v 101. The story of Xerxes' extravagances and of his punishing and chaining the Hellespont for breaking down his bridge is well known. Whether true or false, it had become a common-place theme for moralists. *Xerxes cujus in nomine superbia et impotentia habitat*, Valer. Max. ix 5 (who also introduces Hannibal), *Ennosigaeum*, ἐννοσίγαιον, the Homeric epithet. **183, 184**: A very kind thing of him not to brand Neptune, as well as chain him, Herod. vii 35. Runaway slaves were branded. **187**: I

prefer taking *toties* with *exegit* and not with *optata*. "So many examples does history afford of," &c.

188: sqq. When the poet says that people in health and sickness pray only for old age, he means, of course, that one of their principal prayers is for old age. Compare Senec. Epp. 101, where some well-known lines by Maecenas are quoted, ending *Vita dum superest, bene est. Hanc mihi vel acuta Si sedeam cruce sustine*, which Seneca justly calls *turpissimum votum*, and Epp. 22 *ad fin.* **191**: *ante omnia* might go with *tetrum*, "offensive above all things." **192**: *dissimilemque sui. Fotis mea . . . sui longe dissimilis advenit*, Appul. Met. iii 51. Ov. Met. xi 273. **193**: *pendentes genas.* Plin. Epp. iii 6. **194**: *Tabraca*, still called Tabarka, a town of Numidia. The woods about, no doubt, abounded in monkeys. **196, 197**: *pulchrior . . . alio*, the expression here resembles a line of Ovid, *Pulchrior hac illa est; haec est quoque pulchrior illa*, Am. ii 10 7. **199**: *madidi . . . nasi*, cf. vi 148. Sueton. speaks of the Emperor Claudius when angry as *ira turpior, spumante rictu, humentibus naribus*, Claud. 30. **200**: *gingiva*, the word has survived in the French "gencive." **201**: *Usque adeo*, as often before, "so utterly." *gravis* "disagreeable," as vi 147. **204**: sqq. *si coneris*, "if you attempt to arouse him." *ramex*, "hernia," vi 326. Lucilius makes his old man *deformis, arthriticus podagrosus, mancus, miser, exilis, ramice magno*, Fr. ix 13. **208, 209**: *quid quod*, "why add that?" *quid quod . . . viribus.* That is to say (as Heinrich correctly explains) that an old man who affects this kind of thing, when his day is past, lays himself open to the suspicion that he is obliged to have recourse to filthy practices and filthy stimulants. *affectare* here (as often) seems to be our "affects," not "aims at." **211**: *Seleucus*, unknown; some eminent musician. **212**: Cicero speaks of a *citharoedus palla inaurata indutus*, ad Heren. iv 47. These would doubtless be the leading performers. **216**: *nunciet horas.* Compare Mart. viii 67, *Horas quinque puer nondum tibi nunciat, et tu Jam conviva mihi Caeciliane venis.* From this passage, and Petron. 26, *Trimalchio, lautissimus homo, horologium in triclinio et buccinatorem habet subornatum ut subinde sciat quantum de vita perdiderit*, it would appear that it was the custom of some to have the hours announced to them

by their slaves. Wealthy men would, of course, have their private *horologium* (like Trimalchio above; and we read that Cicero had one, at one, and probably all of his houses. Valer. Max. i 4 5; Cic. ad Fam. 16 18), and this consisted of a sun-dial out of doors, *solarium*, or a water-clock in doors, *clypsedra*, to both of which the term *horologium* applied; these being the instruments for measuring time in use among the Romans. The public *horologia* were of course sun-dials. Cf. Becker's "Gallus" sc. ii, exc. 5 for full details.

217: *gelido jam corpore.* Macleane says the Latin requires *in* before *corpore.* I think not. The sense is "his body being chilled with age," as *torpente palato*, 203. **218**: *Febre calet sola*, "it requires a fever to make him warm." Martial addressing an old woman, says *Cum bruma mensem sit tibi per Augustum, Regelare nec te pestilentia possit*, iii 93 16 17; and Seneca, Epp. 68, *Jam aetas mea contenta est suo frigore, vix media regelatur aestate.* The lines 219–226 are not much to be commended, as Ribbeck has not failed to point out. Possibly they are a burlesque imitation of such passages as Virg. Georg. ii 103, sqq; Ov. Epist. ex Pont. ii 27 25, sqq. **220**: Translate *amaverit* has loved, *occiderit* has killed, &c., for living persons, or imaginary persons supposed to be living are intended by *Hippia*, &c. As for her, we had her at vi 82, sqq. There was a celebrated physician named *Themison* mentioned by Pliny, and Seneca, Epp. 95. He must have lived before Juvenal's time; and the name is probably put for any great physician. *Basilus.* The name occurred in vii 145–147, as a poor lawyer. *socios*, "partners." *Socii putandi sunt quos inter res communicata est*, Cicero, Verr. ii 3 20; and compare Cic. pro. Sex. Rosc. Am. 40. Horace couples *socius* and *pupillus* together, Epp. ii 1 122 123. At 254 below, it means "friend." *circumscribere, circumscriptor* are used in the same sense at xiv 237, and xv 136; compare Pliny, Epp. viii 18, *circumscripto testamento*, literally "the will being cheated," *i.e.*, "the testator's intentions being frustrated." *exsorbeat*, vi 126. *Maura*, vi 307. *inclinet*, ix 26. *Hamillus*, like Hirrus above, unknown.

226: has occurred before at i 25, where see note. **227**: *debilis* means "ailing." **231**: *hiat tantum*, &c. "This," says Macleane, "is prettily introduced, and serves to relieve

the picture." I think it is intended to be comic. **236, 237**: cf. G. and R. Ant., "Heres" and "Testamentum." Suffice it to say here that to disinherit one's children was not so easy a matter in Rome as in England. We must suppose this man to have gone through all the necessary forms, or (as is extremely probable) that the poet did not know the law, i 55, note. **238**: Hor. Epod. 8 19 20, and many epigrams of Martial might be quoted in illustration of this line, if the subject admitted of being illustrated. The early fathers have stigmatised these and other filthy practices, cf. the Epist. of Barnabas, c. 10. *carcere,* "the vault or cell," at the door of which prostitutes stood for hire, vi 121, note. *artificis;* compare iv 18.

246: *Rex Pylius.* Nestor. His age is referred to in Hom. Il. A. 250, and was fabulously extended by later writers. The crow was supposed to be very long-lived by the ancients, Greeks as well as Romans, ἐννέα τοι ζώει γενεὰς λακέρυζα κορώνη Ἀνδρῶν ἡβώντων, Hesiod. Fragm., referred to by Plin. H. N. vii 48. *annosa cornix,* Hor. Od. iii 17 13; and Martial addresses an old woman as *cornicibus omnibus superstes,* x 67 5. *dextra computat annos.* The ancients counted on the left hand up to a hundred, and then went on with the right hand; cf. Sueton. Claud. 21, *ut oblatos victoribus aureos, prolata sinistra, pariter cum vulgo, voce digitisque numeraret:* Appul. Met. x 229, *magna dextrae suae tropaea numerabat,* where *dextra sua* may be the reading: and so on, the odd hundreds on the left, the even on the right. The meaning is that he was more than a century old. **253**: *barbam Antilochi ardentem,* "the body of his bearded (full-grown) son, Antilochus, burning on the funeral pile." So *ardentes spectant socios,* Virg. Æn. xi 200, and comp. with next line *spatiosum que increpat aevum* of a father mourning his son, Ov. Met. viii 529. Antilochus was slain by Memnon. Mr. Evans seems to have gone curiously wrong in 252; he renders *stamine* "powers of life." Juvenal may here have had in view a passage of Propertius, which very closely resembles this, ii 13 42–50. **256, 257**: look to me like a feeble insertion and amplification of the text. *alius,* i 10, is Laertes. *Ithacum,* his son, Ulysses. *fas* is very awkward here. See 55, note. Meinertz in his "Vindiciae Juve-

nalianae" (a reply to Ribbeck), takes *cui fas* here to mean "whose fate it was," quoting Virg. Æn. xii 27. He might also have quoted Pers. i 61, *vos O patricius sanguis quos vivere fas est Occipiti caeco.* I have so rendered it in this edition, and so at 55. Some take the meaning to be "who had the right, who was entitled, to mourn Ulysses as dead, while he was so long tempest-tost and absent from home." **262**: *scissa Discordia palla,* Virg. Æn. viii 702. **264**: *audaces carinas,* vi 657–659, note, below 270 283. Seneca has the same expression, *quisquis audacis tetigit carinae nobiles remos,* Med. 607. **267**: sqq. The poet refers to the death of Priam as related by Virg. Aen. ii; and, in all probability, had before his eyes a passage in Cicero, *Priamum tanta progenie orbatum cum in aram confugisset, hostilis manus interemit. Hic si vivis filiis, incolumi regno occidisset . . . utrum tandem a bonis an a malis discessisset? tum profecto videretur a bonis. At certe ei melius evenisset, nec tam flebiliter illa canerentur: Haec omnia vidi inflammari,* etc., Tusc. Quaest. i 35. *ut vetulus bos* seems to be a reminiscence of Homer, Odyss. iv 535, ὥς τίς τε κατέκτανε βοῦν ἐπὶ φάτνῃ. *tiara* is taken from Virg. vii 247. **270**: *ab ingrato fastiditus aratro,* another example of Juvenal's habit of giving life to inanimate objects. *provida Campania,* below. *jam* may mean "at last," *rupi jam vincula,* Pers. v 158. *jam securus liberque moriturus,* Plin. Epp. i 12, and often elsewhere. **271, 272**: These lines, like 256 257, would, I think, be much better away. They add to the force neither of the poetry nor of the moral.

273: *Transeo,* as at iii 114 and vi 602, means, "I pass by." *regem Ponti,* Mithridates. **275**: *spatia ultima,* a metaphor from the chariot races in the Circus. What follows relates to Marius. **278**: *hinc, i.e.,* "from prolonged life." **281**: *animam opimam* is a curious expression. There seems to be a reference to the "spolia opima," though Marius did not gain the "spolia opima" on the occasion referred to—his victory over the Cimbri and Teutones, viii 249, which is what is alluded to by the epithet *Teutonico,* applied to his chariot. Stat. Silv. iv 6 65, has *opimas acies* in the sense of "proelia ex quibus spolia opima (splendida) referuntur," but the expression is less forced than that of Juvenal; and Virg.

has *purpuream animam*, Æn. ix 349. **283**: alludes to the fever which attacked Pompey at Naples, B.C. 50; cf. Cic. Tusc. Qu. i 35, where, after Priam, he introduces Pompey. The poet has followed his argument and inserted a fresh example, that of Marius. **286**: Lentulus was one of Catiline's party. He and Cethegus were strangled in prison. Their chief fell in the field. Pompey's head was cut off and the trunk buried by the sea-shore, so that he fared worse, says the poet, than Catiline and his fellow-conspirators. According to Dio, xxxvii 40, Catiline's head was sent to Rome, and though Dio's account of the circumstances attending the conspiracy is not very clear, the fact would seem probable, Cic. de Divin. ii 9, which should be read in conjunction with this, 120, note. The ancients dreaded the mutilation of their bodies, from the idea that they would retain the marks in a future state. Plato taught this; and cf. Virg. Aen. vi 494, sqq. So *manesque subirit Integer et nullo temeratus corpora damno*, Stat. Silv. ii 1 155. Nero, in his last moments, expressed the greatest anxiety that his head should not be cut off by his enemies, Suet. Nero, 49, and so likewise Otho, Tac. Hist. ii 49. Compare Appul. Met. iii 49, *duplicatur mihi moestitia quod integro saltem mori non licuerit.* This is akin to the belief among many savage tribes that there are modes of death which kill the soul as well as the body.

298: sqq. Compare Hor. Epp. i 4 8; Pers. ii 31, sqq., and Seneca Epp. 60, *Etiamnum optas quod tibi optavit nutrix tua aut paedagogus aut mater? Nondum intelligis, quantum mali optaverint? O quam inimica nobis sunt vota nostrorum.* **290**: *murmure* the right word, Ov. Met. vii 251. **291**: *Usque ad delicias votorum.* There is much disputing as to the meaning of these words. Heinrich says they mean *usque ad ineptias*, "to a foolish fondness." I think now that this must be something like the sense. "To the extent of refining in her prayers." She is not satisfied with praying for beauty. She goes into details. **292**: *pulchra . . . Diana*, Virg. Aen. i 498, sqq. **295**: *suam, i.e., faciem.* Virginia would be happy to change faces and to take the hump into the bargain, or *gibbus* may be a wen, as at vi 109. Rutila is any one with a hump. *autem*, "besides," as at

314. **295, 296**: comp. Plin. Epp. iii 3. **298**: *pudicitiae*, vi 1, note. Ovid represents the union of beauty and chastity as impossible, *Non possunt ullis ista coire modis*, Am. iii 4 42. **299**: We have had the Sabines before, iii 169, note. *tradere* is "to teach," vi 239. *horrida domus* is much the same as *casta domus luxuque carens*, of Lucret. **303**: Ov. Met. ix 757. **304**: *viros* is the reading of all the best MSS. Others have *viris*. Either will do. The poets, it is true, generally have the dative after *licet* (Heinsius ad Ov. Her. 14 64, has collected many examples from Horace, Ovid, and Martial, to which others might be added, from Lucan, &c.), but the accusative is admissible, Cic. in Verr. iii 96, and elsewhere. In some of the above passages, the MSS. vary between the dative and accusative, as here. So also in a passage of Appul. Apolog. 4. Where the pronoun is omitted, the construction in prose would generally be with the accusative, in verse with the dative for preference, but optional; as, *licet esse beatos*, prose; *licet esse beatis*, poetical, most usual. But we have got *viros* here, and must leave it alone. Jahn and Ribbeck have invented *viro*, without the slightest necessity, vi 464, note. There is the poet's usual strain of exaggeration in all this. Free-born young Romans were not, at any time, so commonly castrated that the probability of such a thing happening to one of them, if handsome, could be held up as a reason for not praying that he should have good looks. Moreover, there is a confusion. Though the parents are persons of antique virtue in 298 299, they suffer themselves to be bought, 304 305. Unless *domus* be taken to be the forefathers, to the exclusion of the parents themselves. But this does not improve the passage much. *vultum modesto sanguine ferventem*, a happy expression, something like the *purpureus pudor*, of Ovid, and the *purpureo suffusus sanguine candor*, of Statius. *facies liberalis multo sanguine multo rubore suffusa*, Plin. Epp. i 14. **311**: sqq. *adulter publicus*, "a professional adulterer." The Julian law was very severe on this offence, both parties being liable to heavy fines, banishment, and civil incapacities. It seems, however, that in some cases the irate husbands took the law into their

own hands. Compare, Hor. Sat. i 2 37, sqq., and Valer. Max. vi i 13. **313**: an allusion to the story of Mars caught in adultery with Venus by her husband Vulcan, and enclosed in a net, Ov. Met. iv 170, sqq. **314, 315**: *exigit autem ille dolor.* Sen. de Tr. An. 15, *id agere te oportet ut dolori tantum des quantum poscit, non quantum consuetudo.* Valer. Max., *loc. cit.*, says the outraged husbands, *in vindicanda pudicitia dolore suo pro lege publica usi sunt.* **317**: *mugilis.* This punishment of the "mullet" is alluded to by Catullus, 15, *Ah! tum te miserum malique fati, Quem attractis pedibus, patente porta, Percurrent raphanique mugilesque.* The reason of this fish being selected is, perhaps, to be found in Plin. H. N. ix 17, who speaks of their *salacitas*, and Aristotle, Hist. An. v 4, makes a similar observation. The ῥαφανίς, "radish," was used among the Greeks for driving into the same part of the adulterer's person, τῷ πρώκτῳ, Aristoph. Nub. 1066. **318**: But your Endymion, you flatter yourself, will prove more lucky, "and serve a beauteous mistress all for love," Gifford. Oh, no! he won't stop there. *exuet*, "she will strip herself," is better than "he will strip her." Compare vi 236, *Advocat Archigenem*, and note. Cf. Mart. iv 28. *udis*, Mart. xi 16 8. *Catulla* has occurred at ii 49. Jahn and Ribbeck join *Catulla* with *deterior*, which does not improve the sense. The meaning is that an abandoned woman has all her character in that part, *sc. inguinibus;* as we say of a glutton, that his soul is in his belly.

324: sqq. Hippolytus, son of Theseus, resisted the advances of his step-mother Phaedra, daughter of Minos, king of Crete, who thereupon accused him to his father, who caused him to be killed by the agency of Poseidon. The story of Bellerophon is similar. Anteia, and not Stheneboea, is generally given as the name of the woman who tempted him. **326**: *haec.* 10, note. But I have always thought the reading should be *hac repulsa.* **329–345**: The poet here refers to the well-known story of C. Silius and the Empress Messalina. He was a handsome youth whom the empress fell in love with and married publicly, during the absence from Rome of her husband Claudius. The latter remained ignorant of the whole affair till it was revealed to him by his

freedman Narcissus, whereupon Silius and Messalina with many others were put to death. Juvenal says, "Look at the consequences of personal beauty in the case of Silius. If he resists Messalina's advances, instant death awaits him. If he gives in, he will have a slightly longer lease of life, it is true, till such time as the emperor hears of the affair. In either case, a speedy and violent end is his portion." *flammeolo*, "the bridal veil," Petron. 26. *lectus genialis*, "the marriage-bed;" *versae sunt in exequias nuptiae, genialisque lectus mutatus in funebrem*, Senec. Controv. **335**: *et ritu*, &c., and a dowry will be given after the old custom; a dowry amounting to a million sesterces. This seems to have been the usual dowry among the upper classes, like £10,000 with us. *Caesar, quamvis posthabitam, decies sestertii dote solutus est*, Tac. Ann. ii 87, cf. Sen. Consol. ad Helv. 12. **336**: cf. Tac. Ann. xi 27, and Suet. Claud. 26, *Cum comperisset . . . C. Silio etiam nupsisse, dote inter auspices consignata.* The *auspices* attended at weddings, though the practice of taking *auspicia* seems to have been given up by this time. *Apud antiquos non solum publice sed etiam privatim nihil gerebatur, nisi auspicio prius sumpto; quo ex more nuptiis etiamnum auspices interponuntur. Qui quamvis auspicia petere desierint, ipso tamen nomine veteris consuetudinis vestigia usurpant*, Valer. Max. ii 1 1. Cf. Becker's "Gallus," sc. 1, exc. 1. *signatoribus*, iii 82. **339**: *pereundum-lucernas.* There may be an allusion here to executions taking place by daylight. *Quid tam inauditum quam nocturnum supplicium?* Sen. de Ira. iii 19. Note of Lipsius. **341**: *Nota urbi et populo. Matrimonium Silii vidit populus et Senatus et miles*, Tac. Ann. xi 30. Seneca has the same term, *Urbibus notus et populis*, Epp. 66. **342**: *Dedecus ille domus sciet ultimus.* So Dio, of this transaction, says ταῦτ' οὖν καὶ ὑπὸ πάντων ἀκουόμενα καὶ ὁρώμενα τὸν γοῦν Κλαύδιον ἐλάνθανεν, lx 31. *si tanti* is the common reading, and I think it far preferable to *sit tanti* (an ironical command), which Heinrich and Ruperti, followed by Macleane, take from P.

346: *Permittes.* So Horace, *Permitte Divis caetera*, Od. i 9 9; and *teque totum coelestium arbitrio permitte*, Valer. Max. vii 2, extern. 1, in a passage which our author has copied, *Socrates . . . nihil ultra petendum a Diis immortalibus arbi-*

trabatur, quam ut bona tribuerent. Quia ii demum scirent quid unicuique esset utile: nos autem plerumque id votis expetere quod non impetrasse melius foret, &c. **355**: *tomacula* (from τέμνω) were some sort of mince-meat made of the intestines of the pig. They may have been like our sausages. They are mentioned by Mart. i 42 9 10, *fumantia qui tomacla raucus Circumfert tepidis coquus popinis*, and Petron. 31 (according to one reading), and 49. **356**: *roga bonam mentem, bonam valetudinem animi, deinde corporis*, Sen. Epp. 10. **357**: *mortis terrore*, the principal cause of man's unhappiness, according to Epicurus. **358**: I have given in the translation the sense usually attached to these words; upon which Ribbeck has an extraordinary criticism, to the affect that the real Juvenal never would have spoken of *extremum vitae spatium* as a blessing, because every one, even if he die in infancy, must have "a last stage" of his life. Surely it is unnecessary to reply to this. I am by no means sure, however, that the line does not mean, "who reckons mere length of life the smallest of nature's boons." At 188 *spatium vitae* is used expressly for "long life," and as equivalent to *multos annos*; and precisely in this sense does Seneca use the word Epp. 49, *doce non esse positum bonum vitae in spatio ejus, sed in usu.* There could be no objection to the expression *extremum inter munera* (as was once suggested to me by a scholar), any more than to *primus inter pares, orator unus inter omnes*, &c. **360**: *Nesciat irasci*, in our idiom, "is incapable of anger," as at xi 100, *Tunc rudis et Graias mirari nescius artes . . . miles.* Macrobius has quoted part of this line, as Gronovius noticed, *Fortitudinis passiones ignorare, non vincere, ut nesciat irasci, cupiat nihil*, In. Somn. Scip. i ch. 8. *labores* at the end of 359 and 361, with *potiores* at the end of 360 (cf. 103 104, note), is certainly not suggestive of the "limae labor." *pluma*, properly, "a feather-bed," is here used for luxury, vi 88. **365**: *habes* is the reading of most MSS. P. reads * abest. Lactantius, in bk. iii of his Institutes, "de Falsa Sapientia," quotes these lines as follows, *Nullum numen abest, si sit prudentia, sed nos Te facimus fortuna deam coeloque locamus;* at least they are so printed in the early editions of Lact. He may have quoted from memory; at any rate his authority is not decisive.

Scholars need not be informed how often Servius, &c., misquote lines; and there are cases where even a wrong author is cited. To give but one instance, Seneca, Nat. Quaest. iv 2, quotes part of a pentameter from Ovid, which is to be found in Tibullus. I see no difficulty at all in *habes*, though Macleane says, "I can make nothing satisfactory of it." We must put a comma after *prudentia*, and then the poet turns to Fortune and addresses her directly (compare iv 123 124, xiii 80 81, vi 466, vi 7, the commonest possible trick with the poets), "You have no divine power over us if we are only gifted with prudence. It is we men who make a goddess of you, O Fortune." *numen* for "divine authority" is very common, *at credo mea numina tandem Fessa jacent*, Virg. Aen. vii 297, &c.; *numen historiae*, "the divine power of history," Plin. Epp. ix 27; *formaque numen habet*, Ov. Am. iii 3 12. *numen Senatus* in Cic. These lines are repeated, in part, in Sat. xiv. Virgil has something not altogether unlike the second clause in its boldness, *an sua cuique Deus fit dira cupido?* May not a man's own desires become a god to him? Compare Juv. xiii 86; Plin. H. N. ii 7; and very much the idea of the first clause is conveyed in Cic. Balb. 4, *in quo uno ita summa fortuna cum summa virtute certavit, ut omnium judicio plus homini quam deae tribueretur.*

INTRODUCTION TO SATIRE XI.

AN invitation to his friend Persicus to dine with him during the festival of the Megalesia. After censuring the gluttony of men who could not afford the delicacies to which they treated themselves, and whom their belly often reduced to beggary, the poet dwells on the necessity of "cutting one's coat to the size of one's cloth," as we say. He then describes the dinner which he proposes to set before his friend, by way of showing that his practice agrees with his precepts, a young kid, asparagus, eggs, fowls, and fruit. This would have been considered a luxurious dinner in the old times,—the simplicity of which he proceeds to contrast with the luxury of his day. Coming back, after a long digression, to his dinner, he says his friend will find no luxurious commodities, such as ivory, in his house. The handles of the knives are of bone. There will be no carver and house-steward. Two plainly-dressed and well-behaved young slaves will wait at table and serve the wine. There will be no dancing-girls, or tomfoolery of that kind—amusements to be left to the rich. Instead of that, Virgil or Homer will be read aloud. In conclusion, the poet begs his friend to cast off all care when he enters his doors, and to enjoy his holiday, while the silly people outside are all flocking to the Circus and the games.

There is nothing in this Satire to indicate its date, except the allusion to the poet's age, 201–203. See notes to 64 and 204.

NOTES TO SATIRE XI.

1: *Atticus* is any rich man, and *Rutilus* is a man who has beggared himself. T. Pomponius Atticus, the friend of Cicero, was very wealthy. According to Cornelius Nepos, Life of Atticus, 5 14, he inherited two large fortunes which he greatly increased by judicious investments and speculations. His name may have become proverbial. **3**: *Apicius* was mentioned at iv 23. **4**: *stationes* are places of public resort, *Plerique in stationibus sedent, tempusque audiendi fabulis conterunt*, Plin. Epp. i 13 and ii 9. **5, 6**: While he is of an age for serving in the army, *maturus bello*, viii 169 (compare vii 33), he enlists as a gladiator. *tribuno* is the emperor, according to Ruperti. The emperor does not force Rutilus to be a gladiator, like Nero, "but neither does he prevent him," as he should do. *fertur scripturus* is rendered by Heinrich and Macleane, "it is reported that he means to write out." This is very tame. *Fertur scripturus* is like *rapitur extinguendus*, x 332, *feruntur praecipites*, &c. *Is qui ardens fertur*, Cic. pro Sext. Rosc. Amer. 31, the same expression. The man who might be serving his country is impelled by the ardour of his blood—to enlist as a gladiator, and copy out the trainers' rules. Compare Suet. J. Caes. 26, *Tirones . . . per equites Romanos atque etiam per senatores armorum peritos erudiebat . . . enitens . . . ut disciplinam singulorum susciperent, ipsique dictata exercentibus darent.* Mr. Simcox has here one of his extraordinary notes, "*fertur*,—he has not put down his litter." *ardens* = *ardet* vi 328, note. **8**: *lanista* seems to have been an Etruscan word, originally signifying "butcher." Isid. Or. x quoted by Friedl. **11**: *viv. cau.* viii 84. **13**: *perlucente ruina*, a metaphor from the daylight shining through the cracks in a ruined house. *gustus* (*gustatio*), or *promulsis*, formed the commencement of the *coena*, and consisted of dishes calculated

to excite the appetite. In Petron. 21, the guests are *gustatione mirifica initiati.* Mart. x 48 13. Here it means "dainties," "relishes." **15** : *animo*, "their fancy," "inclination."

16 : *magis . . . emuntur.* Martial has the same idea. *Rustica sim an perdix quid refert si sapor idem est Carior est perdix sic sapit illa magis*, xiii 76. *Quidquid quaeritur, optimum videtur*, Petron. 93. **17** : *periturum. pereo* has often occurred in this sense. *periturae chartae*, i 18, &c. If they have made up their minds to ruin themselves, it is easy to get one last sumptuous repast by selling the remains of their plate, &c., and to consume the dainty on earthenware dishes, the only ones left them, *una comedunt patrimonia mensa*, i 138. *gulosum fictile*, vi 657, note. *miscellanea*, "the mixtures," messes served up to gladiators. **21** : *paret*, "provides," "furnishes." *Ventidius*, any wealthy man. Another Ventidius was mentioned at vii 199. There was a Ventidius Cumanus, joint procurator with Felix (before whom Paul preached) in the government of Judaea, who plundered, and enriched himself as usual, and was deposed. It is hardly probable that he is alluded to. The subject to *est, sumit, trahit*, is *haec eadem parare* got from *haec eadem paret.* **25** : *Omnibus sc. ceteris*, as often, below 42. *cuncta patrimonia*, x 13. **27** : *Sacculus* is a little money-bag. Catullus says his *sacculus* was *plenus aranearum*, "full of spiders," *i.e.*, empty, 13. γνῶθι σεαυτον, the well-known precept attributed to various sages. **28** : *figendum*, "to be deeply implanted," as *primo fige loco*, v 12. **31** : Not even Thersites with all his impudence. We have had him before, viii 269 271. *traducebat*, viii 17, note. **32** : *magno discrimine*, not so much "great nicety," as "great moment;" a cause requiring a great orator, such as an appearance on behalf of provincials against a governor, &c. **34** : *Matho* has been mentioned in i 32, and vii 129. Curtius must have been another spouting causidicus of the same stamp. *buccae;* compare iii 35, *notaeque per oppida buccae;* and the word is used for persons in Mart. xi 61 2. Here it means "wind-bags," mere puffers out of their cheeks. *bucco* occurs in the same sense in Plaut. Bacch. v i. **35** : *spectanda*, means more than "to be kept in view," Evans. It means "that it must be carefully tried and examined," cf. vi

371, note. The sentiment here expressed is a poetical rendering of Seneca, whom Juvenal seems to have studied carefully, as we have so often had occasion to notice, *Aestimanda sunt deinde ipsa quae aggredimur, et vires nostrae cum rebus quas tentaturi sumus comparandae*, de Tr. An. 5. **38**: Compare Hor. Sat. ii 2 95, sqq. He has *deficiente crumena* in Epp. i 4 11. **40**: *rebus mersis in ventrem*, just like *demisso in viscera censu*, Ov. Met. viii 846. **41**: *Pollio*, perhaps the Crepereius Pollio of ix 6 7, who parts at last with his ring, the badge of equestrian or senatorial rank. Indeed it would not be of much use to retain it. Martial says of a pretender *Oppigneravit Claudii modo ad mensam Vix octo nummis annulum unde coenaret*, ii 57 7 8.

44, 45: Mr. Evans appears to have mistaken the sense. "It is not the funeral pile, or the grave, that is luxury's horror." But *acerbum* goes with *funus* (ἄωρος θάνατος. *Abstulit atra dies et funere mersit acerbo*, in the well-known passage, Vir. Aen. vi); and *praematuri cineres, funus acerbum* and *senectus* are, all three, the subjects to *metuenda*. **46**: *conductus* is very rarely used of money. Hor., Sat. i 2 9, has *Omnia conductis coemens opsonia nummis*. **49**: *vertere solum* is explained by Cicero (who often uses the term), *qui volunt poenam aliquam subterfugere aut calamitatem eo solum vertunt hoc est sedem ac locum mutant*, pro Caec. 34; and the expression may be used in the same sense in Petron. 81, *libidinis suae solum vertit*, "runs off to fresh amours," where all the commentators give another meaning. *ostrea* is far better than *Ostia*, another reading. The very little (*paulum nescio quid*) still remaining they intend to devote to gormandising. **50**: *foro*, where the money-changers had their offices, x 25, note. **51**: *Esquilias*, &c., "to change his abode from one part of the town to another." *Subura*, iii 5, note, v 106, x 156, and 141 of this Satire. The Esquiliae were called *gelidae*, at v 77. *ferventi* here seems to mean "hot." It might also mean "busy." **53**: *caruisse anno*, *Circensibus anno*, a terrible privation for the Romans, iii 223, x 81, &c. **54**: *sanguinis . . . gutta*, "not the shadow of a blush is to be seen on their faces." Compare x 301. *fugientem morantur*, "detain her in her flight."

55: Here, says Ribbeck, the genuine satire begins, and

he rejects all that has preceded, as he rejected the beginning of Satire iv 1–36. No doubt both these Satires would be improved by losing their prologues. I think, however, that the preface to this Satire is not so objectionable as the corresponding lines 1–36 of Satire iv, which have absolutely nothing to do with the subject. The talk about gluttons and spendthrifts might very well precede the friendly invitation to a frugal meal. It does not seem to me unlikely, that the poet had both these passages ready written by him, and tacked them on. If the Satire begins at *Experiere*, there is an awkwardness about the words *pulcherrima dictu*, which seem to refer to something which has gone before. **56**: *Persice.* This name has occurred before, as *orborum lautissimus*, iii 221, but there can be no connection between the two. **59**: *dictem.* Some commentators take this to be when they are out marketing together. "The master goes out marketing with his slave and sends him back with orders for dinner," Simcox, or, it may be, gives him orders in public to go and buy one thing, and secretly, another; which the poet says he does not do. Certainly *dictem* cannot mean at the tête-à-tête supper, where it would be impossible for the host to deceive his guest in this way. *placentas* are "honey cakes." Cato R. R. 76, gives a minute receipt for them. **60**: "You shall find in me an Evander, and you shall come like a Hercules or an Aeneas, and be as hospitably received by me as they were by him." Evander, though hospitable, was poor, and that explains the comparison here, *tum res inopes Evandrus habebat*, Virg. Aen. viii 100, viii 359–365. *Tirynthius*, Aen. viii 228, from Tiryns, a town of Argolis. Aeneas was the son of Venus, and his father Anchises traced his origin to Zeus. *contingere* (or *attingere*, Plin. Epp. vii 24) *sanguine aliquem* is "to be connected by blood-relationship with any one," *Galba . . . nullo gradu contingens Caesarum domum*, Suet. Galb. 2. So *contingere* simply. *quos contingo*, "my relations," Sen. de Cons. ad Helv. 4 Aeneas was drowned in the river Numicius, Hercules burnt on Mount Oeta. Line 63 seems to come in feebly; Heinrich rejects it. It looks like a gloss. **64**: sqq. Gifford says, Martial has imitated this bill of fare, in x 48. I doubt whether there

be any imitation at all, but if so, it is more likely to have been the other way. Martial's tenth book was published in A.D. 99, in its present form, but there had been a previous edition as he informs us, x 2, in which this epigram may have appeared. Supposing it, however, to have appeared for the first time in the second edition, I am inclined to think that this Satire is of later date. In 203 the poet seems to speak of himself as an old man. Not, however, that too much weight should be attached to this, especially in the case of a satirist. The late Mr. Thackeray in some of his writings speaks of himself as an old man at a time when he was about forty years of age, and Persius in his prologue certainly hints at poverty being the cause of his writing, which we know was not the case, and again speaks of his old age, i 9, *canities* (though some choose to give it a different sense). Any number of such instances might be adduced, yet if we are to indulge in conjecture, I think it would be safer to conjecture that Juvenal copied from or parodied his friend Martial than the converse. Compare Mart. v 78. **64**: *fercula*, i 94. *nullis ornata macellis*, as *nullus tota nitor in cute*, ix 14; *nullo gemit hic tibicina cornu*, ii 90; *nullo cogente Nerone*, viii 193, vi 589. *ornare* is used in the same way by Hor., *tum pensilis uva secundas Et nux ornabat mensas cum duplice ficu*, Sat. ii 2 121; *ornare pulvinar Deorum dapibus*, Id.; *ornare pecunia*, Plin. Epp. iii 21. **65**: It would seem from this that the poet had a farm near Tibur. Martial had a farm, too, from which he sent a present to his friend Juvenal, vii 91. **67**: *toto grege mollior*, cf. ii 164, note. **69**: *posito* for *deposito*, as often, 76 below. **69, 70**: They are wrapped up in hay-bands to keep them warm. The pears of Signia in Latium, and of Syria, and the apples and pears from Picenum were celebrated, as the commentators quote numerous passages to show. **72**: *parte anni*. Mr. Simcox renders this, " by the season," " preserved by the cold of late autumn and early winter," and adds, "It is as well to keep to the common instrumental sense of the ablative; as the ablative is seldom used of duration, though instances are found, as Cic. N.D. ii 130." But the ablative of duration is constantly found in writers of this period; *ex. gr.*, in Pliny the younger, *paucis diebus aegre refocillatus*, Epp. iii 14, iv 9,

&c., &c. : in Tac. and Sueton. (cf. Zumpt. § 396), and Mart., *viginti litigat annis.* Later on, this use of the ablative perpetually occurs.

77 : *jam.* Here you have already a luxurious supper, even for the senate of old days. Macleane renders, "for our senate when it had grown to be luxurious," which is not, I think, the sense. Juvenal's respect for the senate has been shown at 29. **78** : *Curius*, ii 3, note. The poet may have had in his mind Seneca de Cons. ad Helv. 10, *Scilicet minus beate vivebat dictator noster, qui Samnitum legatos audit, cum vilissimum cibum in foco ipse manu sua versaret?* But the story was a common one, and is told by Seneca again; de Provid. 3, and with variations by Valer. Maxim. iv 3 5, as well as by Plutarch, Cicero, and others. The diminutives should be observed here, *parvo, brevibus, oluscula.* Compare iii 226 227. **80** : *squalidus fossor*, a slave working in chains at the *ergastula*, vi 150, note, and viii 180. It would seem that vast estates were cultivated by gangs of slaves working in chains, Sen. de Ben. vii 10. **81** : who remembers the dainties of a cookshop at Rome. Horace says to his slave, *fornix tibi et uncta popina Incutiunt urbis desiderium video*, Epp. i 14 21 22. *vulva.* The womb of a sow that had just littered was considered a great delicacy. It was still better if she had slipped her young, at least, so Pliny tells us, H. N. xi 37 ; Hor. Epp. i 15 41. **82** : sqq. Compare Hor. Sat. ii 2 116 117, *Non ego . . . temere edi luce profesta Quicquam praeter olus, formosae cum pede pernae ;* and Ov. Met. viii 648, which seems to be imitated, *Sordida terga suis, nigro pendentia tigno.* **86** : sqq. The picture of the good ex-Dictator trudging back from work, his spade on his shoulder, "a little earlier than usual," to such a dinner, is in the poet's best manner. Compare Hor. Od. iii 6 37, sqq., *rusticorum mascula militum Proles Sabellis docta ligonibus Versare glebas*, and Ov. Fast. iii 781 2. **89** : *domare terram*, for, "to dig," "to plough," is common, *ex aratro domefacta tellus*, Petron. 99; Stat. Theb. vii 333. **90** : *autem*, "moreover," as in x 295 314, &c. *Fabios*, etc., censors of the old time. The next allusion is to Claudius Nero and Livius Salinator, colleagues in the censorship, B.C. 204. The story is told in Livy xxix

37, and Valer. Max. ii 9 6. **94**: *testudo*, vi 80, note. **95**: *Trojugenis*, i 100, note. The figure of an ass's head, sacred to Bacchus and garlanded, was sometimes to be seen, he says, cast in bronze on the small old-fashioned bedsteads of the day, devoid of every other ornament; and the boys used to poke fun at it. In the Kirsch. Museum at Rome, there is a bronze seat found near Osimo, inlaid with the figures of Silenus and an ass. Asses were also crowned in honour of Vesta, *Vesta coronatis pauper gaudebat asellis*, Propert. iv 1 21, but this was with bread, by the bakers who employed them to turn their mills, Ov. Fast. vi 311, Vesta (*ἑστία*) being the goddess of the hearth.

100: *mirari nescius.* Compare x 360. *nescius irasci.* Horace has *rudis et Graecis intacti carminis auctor*, Sat. i 10 66. There may be an allusion here to the destruction of Corinth by Mummius B.C. 146, when the Roman soldiers signalised themselves by their acts of Vandalism. Mummius, says Strabo, was more brave and generous than an admirer of the arts, and presented the choicest objects without hesitation to any one who asked for them; and he relates, on the authority of Polybius, how valuable pictures were thrown on the ground and soldiers played at draughts upon them, &c., Strabo, viii p. 381. Comp. Sall. Bell. Catil. ii. **103**: *Ut phaleris gauderet equus.* The first prize which Aeneas bestows at the foot-race is *equum phaleris insignem*, Aen. v 310. **104**: The Romulean wild beast is the she-wolf that suckled Romulus and Remus, "the twin Quirini;" and the god who comes down with shield and spear, and hangs in mid-air, is Mars (*Bellice depositis clypeo paulisper et hasta Mars ades*, Ov. Fast. iii 1 2), descending to visit Ilia, according to the scholiast. There were medals representing Mars in this position. Juvenal, by a poetical license, supposes the soldier to have these devices embossed on his helmet, as Aeneas carried various incidents of Roman history on his shield. At 106, *fulgentis* is the reading of many MSS. for *venientis*, and it would be no argument against it that *fulgebat* occurs in the next line but one, x 103 104, note. Hildebr. App. Met. suggests *frendentis. Clip. ven. et hasta.* The construction is like that of *venit et agresti capitis Silvanus honore*, Virg. Ecl. x 24,

as pointed out by Coningt. ad loc. **109** : *Tusco catino*, which was very common, Pers. ii 60. **110** : is ironical. **111** : *praesentior*, iii 18. In these lines allusion is made to the story related by Livy, v 32, how M. Caedicius told the tribunes, *se vocem noctis silentio audisse clariorem humana, quae magistratibus dici juberet Gallos adventare.* This was about B.C. 390, and consequently in the old time. Comp. Virg. Georg. i 476. **116** : *fictilis Jupiter.* In the days when, as Pliny relates, Tarquinius Priscus sent for an artist to Rome, and commissioned him to make a statue of Jupiter for the Capitol, *fictilem eum fuisse*, H. N. xxxv 12; but in those days all the statues of the gods were *lignea* or *fictilia*, H. N. xxxiv 7; *Fictilibus crevère Deis haec aurea templa*, Propert. iv 1 5; Livy, iii 27; Virg. viii 178; Plin. Epp. ix 39. The sentiment in the text is reproduced from Seneca. Epp. 31, *Cogita illos (Deos) cum propitii essent, fictiles fuisse. Tunc melius tenuere fidem cum paupere cultu Stabat in exigua ligneus aede Deus*, Tibull. i 10 19 20; Ov. Fast. i 202.

117 : *domi natas*, "home-made." **118** : *stabat* as *exstabat.* **120** : sqq. Compare Lucan i 163, *mensasque priores Aspernata fames.* **122** : sqq. Compare Mart. ii 43 9 10, *Tu Libycos Indis suspendis dentibus orbes, Fulcitur testa fagina mensa mihi*, and Juv. i 137. The wealthy Romans were very fond of choice tables, and had a great number of them. At banquets, there were sometimes more tables than guests, as appears from Plin. H. N. xxviii 5. *violatus*, cf. iii 20. **124** : *porta Syenes.* In Catullus, 36 15, Durrhacium is called *Adriae tabernam*, *i.e.*, the emporium to which dealers congregated, as here Syene is the "gate" through which the traffic passed, cf. viii 160. Tacitus speaks of Syene as *claustra olim Romani imperii*, Tac. Ann. ii 61. All this about the elephant shedding his tusks, when too large, is fable. **125** : *Mauri celeres.* They are described by Tacitus as *per latrocinia et raptus apta bello manus*, Hist. ii 58. **128, 129** : a silver pedestal would be quite common in their estimation. **130** : *res* of articles of food. *bonisque rebus agit laetum convivam.* Hor. Sat. ii 6 110. Boot on Cic. ad Att. iv 10. **131** : *adeo nulla*, so literally, "not an ounce;" "so far from having an ounce that not even have I," &c., *adeo*, with a negative, gene-

rally bears this sense. *nullius repentini honoris, adeo non principatus appetens*, Tac. Hist. iii 39, *i.e.*, so far from being ambitious of the throne, that he wished for no kind of sudden honour to be thrust upon him. *structor* we had at v 120. It would seem that professors in this art taught their pupils to practise carving on wooden models, and the clatter they made, says the poet, sounded all over the Suburra, iiii 5, note. *sumen* was a great delicacy with the Romans, Mart. xii 44, Pers. i 53, &c. It was the breast of a sow, before she had been suckled. The *pygargus* and *oryx* are both mentioned by Plin. H. N. viii 53. The former must be some sort of a deer with a white rump.

139: *Scythicae volucres* are pheasants, "phasianae aves," from the river Phasis, on the confines of Scythia, Mart. xiii 72, and Petron. 93; *Ales Phasiacis petita Colchis*, Id. 119. *phoenicopterus*, Mart. iii 58 14 and xiii 71. Its tongue was a great delicacy, according to Pliny. *linguas phoenicopterorum, et alia portenta luxuriae*, Sen. Epp. 110. *Afra avis* occurs in Hor. Epod. 2 53. *Non Afra avis descendat in ventrem meum.* In Petronius 93, they are called *Afrae volucres. Atque Afrae volucres placent palato, quod non sunt faciles*, because they are not easily procurable, cf. 16 of this Satire. They are probably the same as the *Numidicae*, of Pliny, H. N. x 48, a variety of the guinea-fowl. **144**: *ofella*, the diminutive of *offa*, as *mamilla* from *mamma*, &c., is "a scrap or slice of meat," *Parva tibi curva craticula sudet ofella*, "let it be cooked on the gridiron," Mart. xiv 221, x 48 15, and xii 48. What the poet means is that his youthful attendant has not the chance of making off with the remains of costly delicacies. He knows nothing of the dainties served up at great houses and the ways of the servants there. At most, his peccadilloes consist in clearing off some scraps of steaks or chops. **146**: *a frigore tutus*, warmly clad, protected from the cold; not dressed up like the Oriental slaves in great houses. **147, 148**: *mangone. Millia pro puero centum me mango poposcit*, Mart. i 59. Compare with this passage, Statius Silv. ii 1 72, sqq. **149–151**: Compare Mart. x 98. **150**: *Idem habitus cunctis.* There is no favourite among them. *tonsi rectique capilli*, not lads with flowing locks, a Bromius, vi 378, note, an Acersecomes,

viii 128, note. Their hair is straight, not curled. Curled hair would be a sign of effeminacy, *puer crispus, mollis, formosus*, Petron. 97. *propter convivia.* Compare i 141, *apros animal propter convivia natum.* **152**: sqq. It is impossible not to contrast the manner in which Juvenal speaks of his slaves with the brutal language of Horace, Sat. i 2 116, sqq. But even in these lines, 152 153, which have been described as "true and touching," "the best sort of poetry," there is a chord which vibrates harshly to the modern ear. The idea of the boy regretting his mother, and torn from the scenes of his infancy, does not add to the cheerfulness of the supper. **152, 153**: *matrem et casulam et notos haedos*, cf. ix 60 61, *rusticus infans Cum matre et casulis et collusore catello*, &c., which Naevolus wishes to have. **154**: "There is a play upon *ingenuus.* His was an honest face, and a frank modesty, such as boys who are born of free parents (*ingenui*) should have," Macleane. There is the same play on the word in Mart. iii 33, *Ingenuam malo, sed si tamen illa negetur Libertina mihi proxima conditio est, Extremo est ancilla loco, sed vincit utramque Si facie nobis haec erit ingenua. Est illi facies liberalis . . . ingenua totius corporis pulchritudo.* Plin. Epp. i 14. **155**: *quos . . . vestit,* "those who wear the toga praetexta." There is a dash of satire in this. The poet has alluded to *praetextatos mores* in no favourable terms, at ii 170. **156**: *pugillares.* This is apparently a false quantity, the *u* being elsewhere short. **156–158**: Mart. i 24. **158**: *vellendas . . . alas.* It would seem, from a passage in Seneca, that in his time it was not considered effeminate to have the arm-pits plucked, *Alter se justo plus colit, alter se justo plus negligit, ille et crura, hic nec alas quidem vellit*, Epp. 114. **161**: *patria* is often used to designate the part of the Empire of which a person was a native. So "patrie" in French. A Breton or Auvergnat, in Paris, will speak of Bretagne or Auvergne as "la patrie." Pliny calls Comum his *patria*, Epp. iv 30.

162: *Gaditana.* The city of *Gades* (Cadiz), remarkable for its luxury, seems to have sent to Rome many of the female singers and dancers who were engaged to appear at the banquets of the rich, *nec de Gadibus improbis puellae Vibrabunt sine fine prurientes Lascivos docili tremore lumbos*, Mart. v 78;

and cf. Mart. iii 63, vi 71, xiv 203; Stat. Silv. i 6 71. Compare with this passage and lower down (177–180), the epistle of Pliny on the subject of his modest dinner invitation, *Audisses comoedum vel lectorem vel lyristen . . . at tu apud nescio quem ostrea, vulvas, echinos, Gaditana maluisti,* Epp. i 15. **164**: *clunis* is feminine in Horace, *pulchrae clunes,* Sat. i 2 89. **165, 166**: These verses are omitted in some MSS. In others they stand after 202, and in other places. Compare Mart. iii 86, to a matron, *Sed si Panniculum si spectas casta Latinum Non sunt haec mimis improbiora, lege.* **168, 169**: *major voluptas,* &c., *quantula nostra voluptas,* vi 254. **170**: *urina movetur. Tuccia vesicae non imperat,* vi 64. *non capit,* "has not room for." **171, 172**: *nudum olido stans,* &c., vi 122, note, *tunc nuda papillis Constitit auratis.* Horace describes a prostitute in nearly the same words, *olente in fornice stantem,* Sat. i 2 30. *stans* is "standing for hire." **175**: *Lacedaemonium orbem.* "The pavement which was formed of small pieces, round or oval, of marble (from Laconia)," Macleane. Appuleius exactly describes a pavement of this kind, *Enimvero pavimenta ipsa lapide pretioso caesim diminuto in varia picturae genera discriminantur,* Met. v 89. Salm. ad Spartian. Pesenn. Nig. 6, says that tables are meant. *pytismate,* cf. Hor. Od. ii 14 26. *pytisare* was "to take the wine in the mouth as if to taste it, and then to spit it out." The process is described very closely in Terence, Heaut. Tim. iii 1 48, *Nam ut alia omittam, pytisando modo mihi Quid vini absumpsit, sic hoc dicens; asperum Pater hoc est, aliud lenius sodes vide, Relevi dolia omnia, omnes serias,* I had to uncork all my wine. Cf. Vitruv. vii 4, *Ita conviviis eorum et quod poculis et pytismatis* (or *sputismatis*) *effunditur, simul atque cadit, siccessit.* It may be this practice that is alluded to in Petron. 38, *plus vini sub mensa effundebatur quam aliquis in cella habet.* The Greek word is πυτίζειν. καὶ τὸν μὲν ὀξὺν οἶνον ἐκπυτίζομεν, Athen. Deip. iii. The poet says, "Let those fine people who amuse themselves with spitting out wine on their marble floors, delight in these things; they don't suit my condition." **176**: sqq. *alea . . . vocantur.* See 1 2 of this Satire, and viii 182, note. **180–182**: *dubiam facientia palmam,* as the Romans and critics of the middle ages

thought. Cf. vi 434, sqq., where the lady at dinner weighs Homer and Virgil in the scales. Quintilian, Inst. Or. x 1, quotes with approval a saying of Domitius Afer, *Secundus (Homero) est Virgilius, propior tamen primo quam tertio,* "a good second." On the practice of listening to a reader at meals, cf. Epp. i 15 of Pliny, quoted on 162, Mart. v 78 25, and Pers. i 30, sqq. It is probable that a kind of "recitative" is meant. Cornelius Nepos says of Atticus, c. 14, *Neque umquam sine aliqua lectione apud eum coenatum est, ut non minus animo quam ventre convivae delectarentur.* One would think that if the *Gaditanae* could have been made to dance without indecency, they would have been preferable to this.

186: sqq. A modern author could not indulge in such an allusion as this even in joke. *vexatas comas auremque calentem.* Compare Sueton. Aug. 69. *M. Antonius (Augusto) objecit feminam consularem e triclinio, viro coram, in cubiculum abductam rursus in convivium, rubentibus auriculis, incomptiore capillo, reductam.* **192**: *perit,* "is wasted," i 18, note. **193**: *Megalesiacae,* vi 69, note. *mappae.* A napkin was thrown by the praetor who presided, as a signal for commencing the games, *Cretatam praetor cum vellet mittere mappam,* Mart. xii 29 9. Tertullian says it was not a napkin at all, but an image of the devouring devil, which was projected, *mappam putant, sed est diaboli ab alto praecipitati gula.* From the popularity of the Circus, *missa mappa* came to be used metaphorically, "the signal being given." Pliny speaks of the games which he gave when he was praetor, when it seems that a friend presided for him, Epp. vii 11. **194**: *Idaeum solemne,* because the Megalesia were held in honour of Cybele, "the great Idaean mother of the gods." *similisque triumpho,* x 36, note, *i.e., similis triumphanti.* Meinertz Vind. Juven. p. 30, quotes Liv. xxviii 9, *uno equo per urbem triumphum vehi.* It *may* also mean "like one who is led in triumph," a possible sense which has not, I think, been noticed, and which the neighbouring words, *praeda caballorum,* might seem to favour. Lucan has *triumphus* in this sense, *omnes redeant in castra triumphi,* ii 644. But the former is better. *praeda caballorum,* because he had to spend so much money in providing the horses. *praeda,* "a victim," is common; *tua sum*

nova praeda Cupido, Ov. Am. i 2 19. *nec latronem oportet esse nec praedam*, Sen. de Ira. ii 17. **195** : *fragor*, for the noise of the circus and amphitheatre, Sen. de Tran. An. 2. **198** : *panni*, *favent panno, pannum amant.* "The *colours* it is that they are fond of," Plin. Epp. ix 6. He adds that he himself, as might be expected, cared not a rush for the public games. We have heard of the fondness of the Romans in general for them, several times, iii 223, &c. For full information regarding the "colours of the drivers," cf. Dict. G. and R. Ant., "Circus," vii 113 114, note. **200** : *pulvere.* According to Livy, at the battle of Cannae, a great wind arose and blew dust in the faces of the Romans, *ventus . . . adversus Romanis coortus, multo pulvere in ipsa ora volvendo prospectum ademit*, xxii 46. **202** : *sponsio ;* compare Ovid, A. A. i 167, *Dum loquitur, tangitque manum, poscitque libellum Et quaerit posito pignore vincat uter*, where *libellus* is our "card of the races," Mart. xi 1 15. *cultae*, Macleane says, is equivalent to *amatae.* I think not. At iii 189, he objects to Ruperti giving that sense to *cultis servis.* It would be just as appropriate there as here. Tertullian de Spectac. 25, speaks of *omni spectaculo . . . mulierum et virorum accuratior cultus*, their "get up," which is the exact sense here, cf. Juv. iii 94 95. *culta* for *ornata* is constantly found in Ovid, *visuraque fratrem Culta venit*, Met. ix 460, &c. In the Circus, men and women sat together. In the amphitheatres they were separated. Some (as Rupirti) put 165 166 here, where they were quite out of place. How can *quod pudeat-ipsis* refer to the games of the Circus? **203** : *vernum solem.* The Megalesia were celebrated in April. The fondness of the Romans for sunning themselves is well known. In this respect they resembled the modern Lazzaroni, *totos avida cute combibe soles*, Mart. x 12. *sole utitur Charinus et tamen pallet*, Id. i 78 4; Pers. iv 18. For this purpose they had *solaria*, or terraces on the tops of their houses. Pliny, describing his uncle, writes *Post cibum saepe . . . aestate, si quid otii, jacebat in sole*, Epp. iii 5. **204** : *effugiatque togam.* They would not wear their togas indoors, at a tête-à-tête dinner, i 96, note; but they would have had to wear them, if they had gone to the Circus. There was an express order of Augustus on this point,

Sueton. Aug. 40, *jam nunc in balnea*, etc., i 49, note. *jam nunc*, "at once," "without delay." This was a holiday, so it would be allowable to bathe earlier than usual. According to Spartianus (quoted by Becker), Hadrian would not allow any one, except invalids, to bathe in public before the eighth hour, Hadr. 22. If this were to be depended upon, we should have an indication of the date after which this Satire could not have been written. This, however, is an appropriate place for remarking that indications of date drawn from what was forbidden by edicts or laws are often worthless. They were constantly evaded, or the edicts of one Emperor fell into desuetude in the reign of his successor. **206, 207**: *quinque diebus continuis*. The festival lasted six days. **208**: *commendat*, "enhances." So *Rara juvant*, Mart. iv 29 3; and he uses *commendat* in the same sense of "enhances the value of" in the next line but one, *Sic spoliatricem commendat fastus amicam*. *Cujus* (*liberalitatis*) *pulchritudinem usus ipse commendat*, Plin. Epp. v 12, v 17. *utor*, *usus* in the sense of "to enjoy," "enjoyment," are common.

INTRODUCTION TO SATIRE XII.

THE poet, addressing one Corvinus, informs him that he is going to celebrate a sacrifice in honour of the safe return of a friend (Catullus) who had very nearly been shipwrecked. The poet then describes the storm: not without a few satirical thrusts at his friend, who would seem to have been in a terrible fright, and to have gone so far as to throw overboard silver cups, and even thin dresses, to lighten the ship: and then, returning for a moment to the sacrifice, goes off into a long digression about fortune-hunters, prompted by a statement which he makes, to the effect that this Catullus has three children, and that, consequently, he (the poet) has nothing to look for from him. These fellows, he says, would sacrifice, in honour of a sick friend, a hecatomb, an elephant, their slaves, their own children, if they were allowed to do so, in order to get a legacy. Well! may they succeed, and much good may their genius do them.

Line 75 of this Satire (see note) would seem to show that it was written in or after Trajan's reign. We have no other indication of its date.

NOTES TO SATIRE XII.

1 : Horace says of Maecenas's birthday, *Jure solennis mihi sanctiorque Paene natali proprio*, Od. iv 11 18, and cf. 84 of the last Satire, and ix 51, v 37. The Romans used to offer sacrifices to their protecting genius on these occasions, and to entertain their friends. **2** : *cespes*, "a turf altar," Hor. Od. iii 8 4. **3** : *niveam agnam*. White victims were offered to the gods above; black, to the infernals. Each god had his favourite animal for sacrifice. In Aul. Gell. iv 3, we read of an old law of Numa compelling a prostitute, if she had touched the altar of Juno, to sacrifice a female lamb to her, as here; and a female lamb and a pig were also offered to her on the kalends of every month by the wife of the Rex Sacrorum. *reginae*. Juno, the queen of the gods, *Ast ego quae Divum incedo regina*, Virg. Aen. i 46. *ducimus*, "we are leading to the sacrifice," 112 and x 66. **4** : Minerva carried the head of the Gorgon on her aegis. The story of this head of Medusa, and how it turned people into stone, is well known, cf. Ov. Met. iv ad fin. *vellus*, the fleece for the lamb. so *vellus* for a sheep, Ov. Met. vii 244; and *ebur* for elephant below 112. "Another white lamb." *meritae cadet agna Minervae. Non facit ad nostras hostia major opes*, says Ovid (in the event of a ship reaching shore), Trist. i 10 43 44. **5** : The meaning is, that the animal goes willingly to the sacrifice, shaking the long and loose rope. If he had to be dragged there, it would be a bad omen. Pliny says that calves which had to be carried to the altar on men's shoulders, or which were lame, or struggled to get away, were not acceptable to the gods, H. N. viii 45. The same held good of other animals. If the victim got away altogether, it was a still worse omen, Suet. Tit. 10, where the Emperor is *tristior quod sacrificanti hostia aufugerat*. Cf. Tac. Hist. iii. 56, and the note of Lipsius. This is

what Martial has in view when he writes, *Ipse suas anser properavit laetus ad aras* (quoted at iv 69, where see note), a ludicrous expression, which I think it probable that Juvenal parodies there. Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva were often worshipped together. In the temple of Capitoline Jupiter, on the Capitoline (or Tarpeian) hill, there were three compartments or *cellae*, the middle one for Juno and Minerva. **8** : *spargendusque mero.* Wine and incense were poured upon the flesh while it was burning on the altar, and it would seem that wine was also poured on the head of the victim before it was killed, *dum vota sacerdos Concipit et fundit purum inter cornua vinum Haud exspectato ceciderunt vulnere tauri*, Ov. Met. vii 593, sqq.; Aen. iv 60, vi 243. **10** : *affectibus. Haec dabit affectus*, vi 214. **11** : *Hispulla*, vi 74, note. The poet says, if his means equalled his inclinations, he would sacrifice in place of a young steer, a prize ox, and one of the very choicest kind, an animal from the banks of the river Clitumnus in Umbria, where the pastures were celebrated for producing a white breed of great value, generally reserved to be sacrificed at triumphs, &c. Allusions to them are frequent in the poets, Virg. Georg. ii 146. Compare Sil. viii 452; Stat. Silv. i 4 127, sqq. **13** : *ostendens . . . sanguis. sanguis*, "the blood," for the high-bred one. **14** : The victim was generally killed, not by the priest, but by an attendant called the *popa*, Propert. iv 3 62, aided by a subordinate, the *cultrarius*, who, perhaps, cut the throat of the larger victims when the *popa* had felled them with an axe. Juvenal says the ox should have been one that required a good strong fellow to knock it down. *cervix* is put by Ovid, in something of the same way, for the whole animal, *Apta jugo cervix non est feriendia securi, Vivat et in dura saepe laboret humo*, Fast. iv 415, where I take *cervix*, and not *bos* (from a preceding line), as the subject of *vivat.* **16** : *incolumem sese mirantis*, "astonished at finding himself safe, or alive." *Incolumis* has the sense of "alive," in Horace, *virtutem incolumem odimus Sublatam ex oculis Quaerimus invidi, i.e.*, we hate it in its life-time. And in Virg. Aen. xii 38 39, *Si Turno exstincto socios sum adscire paratus Cur non incolumi potius certamina tollo?* while he is still alive. Similarly, Pliny uses

the word in this sense, and contrasts it directly with *defunctus,—Nolo tamen quemquam opinari (libros) defuncto demum inchoatos, quos incolumi eo peregisti*, Epp. ix 1; and again in Epp. vi 8, he seems to translate ἐμοῦ ζῶντος by *me incolumi;* and Suetonius of Otho, *Denique magna pars hominum, incolumem gravissime detestata, mortuum laudibus tulit*, c. 12; Tac. Hist. i 46, and often elsewhere; and this may be the sense of the word in Pers. vi 37, *Tune bona incolumis minuas?* "during your life time." This sense is probably post.-Aug. Cic. has *vivus et incolumis*.

22: *velis ardentibus, i.e.*, "with a burning ship." The fire which strikes the yard-arms may mean what is called the fire of St. Elmo, an electrical phenomenon common in the Mediterranean. Pliny describes these flashes, H. N. ii 37, *antennis navigantium aliisque navium partibus seu vocali quodam sono insistunt.* He attributes them, according to the belief of his day, to Castor and Pollux. Cf. Hor. Od. i 3 2, *Sic fratres Helenae, lucida sidera.* (St. Elmo is probably a reminiscence of *Helena.*) They are referred to by Seneca, Nat. Quaest. i 1. **23**: *si quando.* Heinrich, and others, would read *quam quando*, and so spoil the passage. The meaning is, "just the same incidents occur, when a storm gets up in poetry." There is a dash of humour in this, which exactly suits the tone of the whole satire, in which humorous touches constantly mingle with serious descriptions. But Heinrich says, "This would have been bestowing praise on the poetical storm, which Juvenal could not have intended." There is no question about "bestowing praise," and it is strange how this able commentator sometimes flounders where there is no sort of difficulty. **27, 28**: an allusion to the votive paintings hung up at the shrine of some god, by those who had escaped shipwreck, similar to the offerings dedicated to the Virgin, &c., in Roman Catholic countries. *Nonne animadvertis, ex tot tabulis pictis, quam multi votis vim tempestatis effugerint?* Cic. de Nat. Deor. iii 37. One would have expected to find Neptune the deity selected, as in Hor. Od. i 5 13, sqq. (*Faunus* is introduced in this capacity by Virg. Aen. xii 766 sqq., but there would be a reason for this, Faunus being a great local deity; and besides the poet is inventing, at his

pleasure, about mythological times); but Isis had now become one of the most popular divinities in Rome, Juv. vi 489 529, ix 22, xiii 93, and as such, would naturally receive a large amount of invocation in all kinds of emergencies, dangers at sea included. That she was similarly appealed to in sickness, is shown by Tibull. i 3 27, *Nunc dea* (*Isis*) *nunc succurre mihi, nam posse mederi Picta docet templis multa tabella tuis.* Our poet never neglects the opportunity of having a fling at everything Egyptian. Some commentators cite xiv 302, but that refers to a different practice—that of carrying about a picture of the shipwreck, to excite pity and obtain alms. See note to the passage. Who does not know, says Juvenal, that there are painters who live by the production of these tabulae?

31 : *puppis*, must mean "the stern," poop of the ship, where the pilot was posted. It "rolled," as we should say, so as to prevent him from steering. Heinrich says that *puppis* cannot possibly mean the stern of the ship, because this would be true of the whole ship. I cannot see the difficulty. The poet's attention is fixed at the moment on the pilot and the particular part of the vessel where he was placed, cf. 69 note. The man at the helm in the poop of the now crazy log was so knocked about by the waves that he found he could no longer steer. *arbor* is used for a ship in Ovid, Her. 12 8, *Phryxeam petiit Pelias arbor ovem*, and *pinus*, in Hor. Epod. 16 57, and in Virgil and Ovid. *incertae* seems to refer to the uncertainty of the ship's course, now that she no longer obeyed the helm. So *dubius*. *dubiam rege navita pinum*, Ov. Fast. ii 101. **33** : *decidere* is a law term. Cf. Long's note to Cic. Verr. ii 1 48. **34** : This fable about the beaver is told by Pliny in books viii 30 and xxxvii 6 of his H.N. and by Appuleius, Met. i 7, *ea bestia captivitatis metuens se ab insequentibus praecisione genitalium liberat*, and elsewhere. Pliny, in xxxii 3, seems to have misgivings about its truth. There is this foundation for the myth that the substance known as "castor" is secreted by a gland near the prepuce of the animal. Pliny tells us, also, that elephants, when pursued, break off their teeth against trees, H.N. viii 3. Juvenal draws the illustrations which he wants in natural history from the natural history of his time, as he finds it, *ex gr.*, here, and the sheep of Baetica

below 40–42. **38, 39**: There is an undercurrent of satire here, which must not be lost sight of. Catullus has, it seems, among his luggage fashionable dresses, and *chefs-d'oeuvre* of plate, 43, sqq. **40–42**: *Baetis* was the Guadalquiver, the neighbourhood of which (Baetica) was famed for its sheep and the quality of their wool. The colour seems to have been yellow, and was popularly supposed to have been derived from the waters of the river, *Corduba Baetin amat, Vellera nativo pallent ubi flava metallo, Et linit Hesperium bractea viva pecus*, Mart. ix 62. Pliny speaks of them as red, viii 48; cf. Mart. xii 99. The same notion prevailed as to other rivers, *ex gr.*, the Galesus in Calabria, from the pastures near which came the celebrated Tarentine wool, Mart. ii 43, iv 28, xii 63. **43**: The scholiast says, Parthenius was a *caelator*, which any one could have told. Heinrich thinks it means a Samian, from Parthenia, the ancient name of Samos. *urnae cratera capacem*, vi 426, *oenophorum plena quod tenditur urna.* **45**: *Pholus* was one of the centaurs, Virg. Georg. ii 456; Valer. Flacc. i 337 338, *cum signifero cratere minantem . . . Pholum.* Stat. Theb. ii 563 564, *in adversos Lapithas erexit inanem Magnanimus cratera Pholus.* The centaurs were generally represented as given to wine and women, Ov. Met. xii 220, *quam vino pectus tam virgine visa Ardet et ebrietas geminata libidine regnat.* *crater* was the vessel in which the wine was mixed with water, and from which the cups were filled. *conjuge Fusci.* There are two Fusci mentioned (different persons), one at iv 112, the other at xvi 46. This *may* be the wife of the latter, or the widow of the former. We have been told in Satire vi, and learn from a multitude of other sources, how kindly some of the Roman ladies took to drink, cf. ix 117. **46**: *bascaudae* came from Britain, and were the originals of our baskets. *Barbara de pictis veni bascauda Britannis Sed me jam mavult dicere Roma suam*, Mart. xiv 99. It will be observed that, in this passage of Juvenal, the word occurs in an enumeration of articles of plate; and similarly in Martial it figures among objects for the table—dishes, cups, &c., from which it may be conjectured that the delicate (and in Rome, no doubt, costly) workmanship of our ancestors may have assumed such forms as "vessels surrounded with basket or

rush work," as suggested by Mr. Evans; perhaps also table-mats for dishes, &c. *mille* (iii 8) is an indefinite number like *centum*, i 120, iii 229. **47**: *emptor Olynthi*, Philip, of Macedon, who obtained possession of Olynthus by the treachery of two of its inhabitants, B.C. 347; and of many other cities in the same way. *Diffidit urbium Portas vir Macedo et subruit aemulos Reges muneribus*, Hor. Od. iii 16 13; Sen. Epp. 94. Pliny says he slept with a gold cup under his pillow, H.N. xxxiii 3. We have here a valuable cup, described as one out of which Philip had drunk; as at vi 156, we had a valuable diamond that had been worn by Berenice, and (according to most commentators) at ii 99, the looking-glass that Otho had used, and at v 44, the jewels which had belonged to Aeneas. *quo.* Ribbeck objects to the absence of a preposition; but we have *gemma bibere* in Virgil, Georg. ii 506, and *fictilibus bibere* in our author, x 25 26. So *fictilibus coenare*, iii 168. **48, 49**: There is a strong dash of satire in these lines, as applied to Catullus, who was flinging overboard his choicest valuables to save his life, and especially in *audet.* And observe also, *utilium*, below, "his necessaries." Ribbeck has altogether misunderstood this. **50, 51**: Bentley pronounces these verses spurious, objecting, *inter alia*, to the expression *facere patrimonia* and *vitio caeci.* But Cicero has *facere manum* "to collect a band of men together," several times, and once *facere vasa aurea*, "to get together." Cic. Verr. ii 4 25. The great objection to the verses seems to me to be that they jar with the context.

52, 53: *sed nec Damna levant.* It is not likely that the throwing over of dresses, and cups, and bowls, &c., would produce much effect; but Catullus was terribly frightened. There is still a vein of mock seriousness about this. Mr. Escott renders "relieve their sufferings," which is quite wrong. **54**: *ac se.* Heinrich (whom Macleane follows) has *hac re*, on the strength of one MS., and renders "relieves himself from the strait." He says that *explicare bellum, fugam, periculum*, etc., are common in this sense, *ex gr.*, *explica aestum meum*, "relieve me from my difficulty," Plin. Epp. ix 34. No doubt; but the question is whether our text will stand, supported as it is by almost the whole weight of

MS. authority. I think it will; and that *ac se* is just as likely to have been changed into *hac re* by an emendator, as the converse. *hac re* is certainly very tame. *explicat.* Observe the changes in tense here and elsewhere. and cf. i 155, note. **58**: *digitus*, the sixteenth part of a foot. This mode of dividing the foot was usually adopted by architects, land-surveyors, &c., *ex gr.*, Vitruv. vii 1, and would be appropriate in speaking of timber. One of the supposed sayings of Anacharsis preserved by Diogenes Laertius (cited by Heinrich) may have been in the poet's mind, *μαθὼν τέτταρας δακτύλους εἶναι τὸ πάχος τῆς νεώς, τοσοῦτον, ἔφη, τοῦ θανάτου τοὺς πλέοντας ἀπέχειν*, i 103; cf. Juv. xiv 289, and Virg. Aen. ix 143. Seneca philosophises on this idea, *Erras si in navigatione tantum existimas minimum esse, quo a morte vita diducitur: in omni loco aeque tenue intervallum est*, Epp. 49 and compare Seneca, Medea., *Potuit tenui fidere ligno Inter mortes vitaeque vias Nimium gracili limite ducto*, and M. Sen. Controv. iii 16, *parva materia sejungit fato* (of a ship.) When Captain Cook's ship, the *Endeavour*, was docked on her return from the South Seas in 1771, it was found that her planks were in some places only an eighth of an inch thick. The crew had traversed thousands of miles, with little more than the substance of an egg-shell between them and the ocean. *taeda* is pine-wood. **61**: *sumendas in tempestate*, "to be used in cases of a storm," not "to be taken on board in view of a storm," which would require *in tempestatem.*

64: sqq. *Parcae*, iii 27, x 252, xiv 249. Their spinning white threads would show that they were favourable. On the other hand, *stamina pulla*, Mart. vi 58, or, *atra*, as Horace calls them, Od. ii 3 16, would be a bad sign. *nigrae sorores*, Stat. Theb. vi 376. **68**: *Vestibus extentis.* The people on board put up their clothes to act as sails. Ruperti quotes Tacitus, Ann. ii 24, where ships come back after a storm, *intentis vestibus*, and again Hist. v 23. **69**: *prora* is here spoken of as *puppis*, at 31, where see note. Of course the prow could not run on without the whole ship doing the same, but the poet speaks of it as the part of the vessel to which he is drawing attention; and it does not stand for the whole ship, any more than *puppis* in the above line, as is clear from the words *velo*

suo, its sail, *i.e.*, the prow's sail, the foresail, *quod superaverat unum*, the only one that remained. The Romans had one, two, and three masted ships. This ship would seem to have had but one mast, 54, with a small foresail, capable of being set on the prow, *dolo*, Livy xxxvi 44 45, cf. Forcell. We need not, however, inquire too closely into the rig of the vessel, which may be an imaginary one; and even if it were real, the poet very likely was not much of an authority on such matters. **70**: sqq. Iulus left Lavinium to his step-mother Lavinia, and founded Alba Longa. To this spot he was guided by a white sow with thirty young pigs, as had been predicted, Virg. Aen. iii 388, sqq., viii 42, sqq. *Alba potens albae suis omine nata*, Propert. iv 1 35. The legend which these writers, and Juvenal after them, followed, was a very old one. Varro, R. R. ii 4, says that at the time of his writing (circ. B.C. 36), there were statues in bronze of the sow and the pigs at Lavinium, and the body of the original sow (pickled) was shown by the priests. "Mons Albanus" (Monte Cavo) is a conspicuous landmark. **74**: *numquam visis*, ix 34, note.

75: sqq. The harbour at Ostia was constructed by Claudius, Suet. Claud 20, Dio lx 11, and was connected with the river by means of a canal. The port was protected by two moles running into the sea, so as to enclose an extensive space (*positas inclusa per aequora moles*). In the interval was a breakwater, or artificial island, with a lighthouse on it, in imitation of the Pharos at Alexandria, which was thus reproduced on the Italian coast (*Tyrrhenam pharon*). Beyond this breakwater, it seems that the arms or moles projected still further into the sea, with a curve (*porrectaque brachia rursum*, &c.). All this the poet conceives as the port, and he says the ship enters it, *intrat*. He reaches the moles and the lighthouse, &c. The harbour is more wonderful than any natural one. To this port Trajan added an inner basin or dock (*interiora . . . tuti stagna sinus*), for which the master makes. Consult for fuller details, Dict. G. and R. Geog., under "Ostia," where a plan of the harbour, &c., is given. This passage is of importance, as showing that this Satire was not written till the time of Trajan, if the scholiast can be trusted, which says *Trajanus portum Augusti* (which was the name it

bore, though constructed by Claudius), *restauravit in melius et interius tutiorem sui nominis fecit.* In confirmation of this, it appears that the inner basin, the form of which can still be traced, is known at this day as "Il Trajano." Trajan, moreover, appears to have turned his attention to harbours and constructed a magnificent port at Centumcellae (*Civita Vecchia*), the works at which are described by Pliny, Epp vi 31. *porrecta brachia rursum.* After passing the breakwater, the moles swept out into the sea, and bent inwards again behind it in the form of a horse-shoe, *circumducto dextra sinistraque brachio,* Sueton. loc. cit. *Baianae cymbae,* "a small fishing-boat from Baiae." *vertice raso.* They had vowed their hair to some god, if they escaped the peril, or offered it as a thank-offering, a common practice. *naufragorum ultimum votum,* Petron. 103, 104, 105. *garrula pericula,* vi 657–659, note.

83 : *pueri,* "the slaves," *animis linguisque faventes,* keeping tongues and thoughts in a reverential mood. *favete linguis* Hor., εὐφημεῖτε. Ovid has the same expression as Juvenal, *linguisque animisque favete,* Fast. i 71, and Virgil, *ore favete,* Aen. 5 71, where the words precede a sacrifice, as here. **84** : *farra imponite cultris.* Meal was sprinkled on the forehead, and on the burning flesh, of the victim (*mola salsa,*—hence called *mica crepitans,* Hor. and Ov.,—"crackling" in the fire) and, it would seem, on the knife. According to Plin. H.N. xviii 2, it was Numa who first introduced the practice of offering corn to the gods. *molles focos glebamque virentem,* refer to the turf altars. **86** : sqq. After the sacrifice (the principal thing) is over, he will come back and put chaplets on the heads of his Lares, which were either made of wax, or "rubbed with wax and polished." Heinrich says the former must be wrong, because the Lares were at the hearth, and *waxen* images could not stand in such a position. It is most likely that in the modest abode of our poet, the *Lares* would still be at the hearth, though in the houses of the great they had a chapel of their own, *lararium, sacrarium, sacellum, aedicula,* Beck. "Gallus," scene, ii, exc. 1. These Lares appear to have been made of different materials. Propertius speaks of those of primitive times as *fictiles;* in Petronius 29, we have them of silver, *Lares argentei.* A pas-

sage in Suetonius, Vitell. 2, seems to imply that those of Vitellius were made of gold. These images were crowned on festive occasions, cf. Plautus, prolog. to Aulularia 23, where *Lar* speaks in person, *Huic filia una est; ea mihi quotidie Aut thure aut vino aut aliqui semper supplicat; Dat mihi coronas.* **89**: *nostrum Jovem* is like *parvi nostrique Lares*, ix 137. The image of Jupiter would be among his Penates. **90**: *Thura.* See passage of Plautus quoted above. *omnes violae jactabo colores.* So at the sacrifice, Aen. v 79, *purpureosque jacit flores.* Under *violae* are included other flowers besides that known to us as the violet; *ex gr.*, the pansy, and, perhaps, the campanula and the cheiranthus (Messrs. White and Riddle say "wall-flowers"). **91**: *longos erexit janua ramos.* The author has decorated his door for this festive occasion, cf. vi 51 52; ib 78 79 228, ix 85. Lipsius, Elect. i 3, has a learned discussion on these decorations. **92**: *operatur*, "takes its part in the sacred rites." It is better to take *festa* with *janua*, and *operatur* stands alone, as in Propert. ii 33 2, *Cynthia jam noctes est operata decem;* and *justis operata Divis*, Hor. Od. iii 14 6; *certis operata diebus*, Ov. Am. ii 13 17; *vidit se operatum*, Tac. Ann. ii 14, where other examples are quoted by Lipsius.

96, 97: *impendat . . . impensa.* See x 103 104, note. *coturnix.* Pliny says that quails were not eaten, because they fed on a venomous plant and were subject to epilepsy, H.N. x 23. Lucretius makes the first syllable in *coturn* long, iv 641. **98**: *sentire calorem*, "to feel a touch of fever." The poet now plunges into a digression about fortune-hunters, and leaves Catullus and the shipwreck behind. He must attack some class of persons, some abuse of his times, he must point a moral, before he concludes. *legitime*, "in the approved way," x 338. **100**: *tabellae* are the tablets on which the people inscribe their prayers for the patient's recovery. *porticus*, either of some temple, or of the house of the person who puts them up. For the *porticus* of a house, vi 163, iv 6, cf. Dict. G. and R. Ant. "Domus." **102**: The fortune-hunters would be prepared to offer up elephants, if they could get them. But they are not to be procured, here, at least. *furva gente* are the Indians, xi 125, and the Africans. Pliny, H.N. viii, has a great deal about the elephant, of which he tells many

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1 : Horace says of Maecenas's birthday, *Jure solennis mihi sanctiorque Paene natali proprio*, Od. iv 11 18, and cf. 84 of the last Satire, and ix 51, v 37. The Romans used to offer sacrifices to their protecting genius on these occasions, and to entertain their friends. **2** : *cespes*, "a turf altar," Hor. Od. iii 8 4. **3** : *niveam agnam.* White victims were offered to the gods above; black, to the infernals. Each god had his favourite animal for sacrifice. In Aul. Gell. iv 3, we read of an old law of Numa compelling a prostitute, if she had touched the altar of Juno, to sacrifice a female lamb to her, as here; and a female lamb and a pig were also offered to her on the kalends of every month by the wife of the Rex Sacrorum. *reginae.* Juno, the queen of the gods, *Ast ego quae Divum incedo regina*, Virg. Aen. i 46. *ducimus*, "we are leading to the sacrifice," 112 and x 66. **4** : Minerva carried the head of the Gorgon on her aegis. The story of this head of Medusa, and how it turned people into stone, is well known, cf. Ov. Met. iv ad fin. *vellus*, the fleece for the lamb. so *vellus* for a sheep, Ov. Met. vii 244; and *ebur* for elephant below 112. "Another white lamb." *meritae cadet agna Minervae. Non facit ad nostras hostia major opes*, says Ovid (in the event of a ship reaching shore), Trist. i 10 43 44. **5** : The meaning is, that the animal goes willingly to the sacrifice, shaking the long and loose rope. If he had to be dragged there, it would be a bad omen. Pliny says that calves which had to be carried to the altar on men's shoulders, or which were lame, or struggled to get away, were not acceptable to the gods, H. N. viii 45. The same held good of other animals. If the victim got away altogether, it was a still worse omen, Suet. Tit. 10, where the Emperor is *tristior quod sacrificanti hostia aufugerat.* Cf. Tac. Hist. iii. 56, and the note of Lipsius. This is

what Martial has in view when he writes, *Ipse suas anser properavit laetus ad aras* (quoted at iv 69, where see note), a ludicrous expression, which I think it probable that Juvenal parodies there. Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva were often worshipped together. In the temple of Capitoline Jupiter, on the Capitoline (or Tarpeian) hill, there were three compartments or *cellae*, the middle one for Juno and Minerva. **8** : *spargendusque mero.* Wine and incense were poured upon the flesh while it was burning on the altar, and it would seem that wine was also poured on the head of the victim before it was killed, *dum vota sacerdos Concipit et fundit purum inter cornua vinum Haud exspectato ceciderunt vulnere tauri*, Ov. Met. vii 593, sqq.; Aen. iv 60, vi 243. **10** : *affectibus. Haec dabit affectus*, vi 214. **11** : *Hispulla*, vi 74, note. The poet says, if his means equalled his inclinations, he would sacrifice in place of a young steer, a prize ox, and one of the very choicest kind, an animal from the banks of the river Clitumnus in Umbria, where the pastures were celebrated for producing a white breed of great value, generally reserved to be sacrificed at triumphs, &c. Allusions to them are frequent in the poets, Virg. Georg. ii 146. Compare Sil. viii 452; Stat. Silv. i 4 127, sqq. **13** : *ostendens . . . sanguis. sanguis*, "the blood," for the high-bred one. **14** : The victim was generally killed, not by the priest, but by an attendant called the *popa*, Propert. iv 3 62, aided by a subordinate, the *cultrarius*, who, perhaps, cut the throat of the larger victims when the *popa* had felled them with an axe. Juvenal says the ox should have been one that required a good strong fellow to knock it down. *cervix* is put by Ovid, in something of the same way, for the whole animal, *Apta jugo cervix non est feriendia securi, Vivat et in dura saepe laboret humo*, Fast. iv 415, where I take *cervix*, and not *bos* (from a preceding line), as the subject of *vivat.* **16** : *incolumem sese mirantis*, "astonished at finding himself safe, or alive." *Incolumis* has the sense of "alive," in Horace, *virtutem incolumem odimus Sublatam ex oculis Quaerimus invidi, i.e.*, we hate it in its life-time. And in Virg. Aen. xii 38 39, *Si Turno exstincto socios sum adscire paratus Cur non incolumi potius certamina tollo?* while he is still alive. Similarly, Pliny uses

extraordinary stories, after his fashion. It would seem that the emperor kept a herd of them (for the shows) in the territory of the Rutulians, of which Turnus was the mythical king. Elephants were first seen in Italy in the war with Pyrrhus, *Molosso regi*, B.C. 280. **107**: *privato*, vi 114, note. According to Vopisc. Aur. 5, Aurelian was the only Roman who ever owned an elephant, while a *privatus*. **111**: *Novius* and *Hister Pacuvius*, two fortune-hunters. *ebur*, for the elephant which furnishes it, like *vellus* above—rather a bold expression. *nulla mora per*, vi 333. *tantis deis*, "these great people," Gallita and Paccius. *enim*, "nay, indeed." These people would not stick at an elephant; they would be ready to sacrifice the cream of their slaves, and their own daughter into the bargain, if they thought it would pay; they are prepared to imitate Agamemnon and lead their Iphigenia to the altar, although they can't expect to see a hind substituted for her, as the tragic writers tell us was the case with the original one. Divested of rhetoric, they will do anything to get a legacy. **122**: *Libitina*, the goddess of funerals, here used for death, as in Hor. Od. iii 30, *multaque pars mei Vitabit Libitinam*. **123**: *Delebit tabulas*, "his will." At ix 75, we had *ruperat tabulas*, of marriage tablets. *nassa* was an osier-basket, sunk in the sea by a line, which a fish, when it was once in, could not get out of; like our "crabbing-pots," which are usually made of willow-branches. **125**: *breviter* means "in a few words," a complete and unconditional bequest of his entire fortune. **126**: *incedet*, in the sense of "to crow over," as in Hor. Epod. 15 17, *meo nunc Superbus incedis malo*. *rivalibus* is here "rivals," generally, and not "rivals in love," a late sense, vi 115, note. The original meaning is to be found in Ulp. *qui per eundem rivum aquam ducunt*. *jugulata Mycenis* may be rendered "the slaughter of the Mycenian maid," i 163, note. **128**: *Nestora totum*, "a whole Nestor," *i.e.*, "the whole of a Nestor," a Greek form. Nestor had become a synonym for longevity, x 246; Mart. ii 64, x 24, &c.

INTRODUCTION TO SATIRE XIII.

THE poet sets to work to try and console one Calvinus, who has been robbed of a sum of money by a faithless friend to whom he had entrusted it. He tells the victim that all who know him sympathise with him, that the case is a common one, and that his fortune is such that he can very well bear with the loss. Excessive grief, in such a case, is out of place: the experience of life ought to help us, just as much as philosophy, to bear these things. The world is full of rogues. We are no longer living in the age of Saturn, when probity and reverence for age, and the other virtues, were practised. Now-á-days an honest man is a *lusus naturae.* And then, again, others have sustained losses far more severe than yours; and see how the swindling villains swear to their innocence by all the gods of heaven. Some of these people don't believe in gods at all, and so they swear with impunity; others do believe in them, but rob you all the same and risk their anger; and, therefore, they are quite ready to take any oath, and Jupiter makes no sign when they perjure themselves, and you begin to think his statue no better than a dummy.

Now, listen to the consolations of one who does not pretend to know much about philosophy. Your case is a very plain one, and requires no skilled physician. If there were no other example of similar villany on record, you might be permitted to indulge in wailing. But look at the law-courts, look at the thieves and incendiaries that we hear of, the sacrileges that are committed, the poisoners and parricides! Ah, if you could only spend a few days in the office of the chief of the police, and hear all that he hears, you would cease to think yourself so wretched. You would no more wonder at people in Rome

being criminal than pigmies wonder at each other for being so small.

"Shall guilt then meet with no punishment?" you ask. Yes, and a far more terrible one than you could inflict. You could only kill the man, and thereby gratify your revenge,—a mean and ignoble passion repudiated by the great teachers of philosophy. His own evil conscience will be his punishment. After describing, in eloquent terms, the fearful effects of an evil conscience, the poet concludes by telling Calvinus that the rogue is sure to come to a bad end at last, and to prove by his example that the gods are neither deaf nor blind.

As to the date of this Satire, see notes to 17 and 157.

NOTES TO SATIRE XIII.

1: *exemplo malo*, "so as to be a bad pattern for imitation." Heinrich renders "malo modo, male." *exemplum* is not uncommon in this sense. *Si istoc exemplo tu omnibus qui quaerunt respondebis*, Plaut. Asin. ii 3 9, sc. *isto modo;* and often in Plautus, and elsewhere. But here something more is conveyed, as in Phaedr. i 26, *sua quisque exempla debet aequo animo pati*, "treatment of which he has himself set the example." *ipsi displicet auctori.* Compare Sen. Epp. 42, *nec ulla major poena nequitiae est quam quod sibi ac suis displicet.* **4**: *Praetoris urna*, either the urn from which the names of the judices were taken, or that in which they deposited the tablets containing their verdicts. We cannot tell how far the praetor, who presided in criminal cases, may have had special opportunities for tampering with one of these urns more than the other. He may have been able to "pack a jury," as we term it; or at the close of the trial—in which the judices pronounced on the guilt or innocence of the prisoner, by a majority—he may have given out a false return of the ballot, though we can scarcely suppose the latter proceeding to have been easy or common. In either case the meaning is, "Though the guilty man may be acquitted in a court of law by corrupt influence, he is not acquitted by his own conscience." **5**: sqq. The sense is, "Don't you know that all your friends sympathise with you? And, moreover, you can afford the loss." *crimine* is translated by Mr. Evans, "the charge you bring." It is better to render "crime," as at 24, below. **8**: *jactura*, iii 125, note. The introduction of the word here certainly produces a very confused metaphor, as Ribbeck does not fail to notice.

14, 15: *spumantibus ardens visceribus.* So i 45, *siccum jecur ardeat ira;* and vi 648, *rabie jecur incendente.* Seneca

has *exaestuante ab imis praecordiis sanguine* among the effects of anger, de Ira, i 1. The poet here and elsewhere in the Satire alludes to his friend's grief, in terms which do not give us a much higher opinion of his fortitude than that which we gathered of the courage of Catullus, in Sat. xii. **15**: *Debitor usuram pariter sortemque negabit*, Mart. v 42 3. It will perhaps be recollected that Pliny, in his celebrated letter to Trajan "de Christianis," mentions how they (the Christians) took an oath, among other things, *ne fidem fallerent, ne depositum appellati abnegarent*, Epp. x 97. **16, 17**: *qui jam post terga*, &c., or, as Martial expresses it, *Condita cum tibi sit jam sexagesima messis*, iv 79 1. Sixty, *sexagesimus annus*, xiv 197, was an epoch in the life of the Romans, and the words imply that Calvinus had passed that age, not necessarily that he was in his sixty-first year, as Ruperti takes it. This is what Mr. Merivale, in his History of the Roman Empire, calls "the cardinal date," as to Juvenal's Satires; and, no doubt, if we knew what Fonteius is intended, we should also know, within a few years, the year when these lines were written, though not, as Mr. Merivale strangely supposes, that of the poet's birth. There were four men named Fonteius Capito, who bore the office of consul. (1) C. Fonteius Capito, consul suffectus, B.C. 33, who is clearly out of the question. (2) C. Fonteius Capito, consul, A.D. 12, who *may* be the man. If so this Satire may have been written in the reign of Vespasian; and this is not violently improbable, especially if we lean to the conjecture that, like the others, the genuineness of which has been questioned by Ribbeck, it is an early effort of the poet, composed before he had shaken off the "declamator," and discovered the direction in which his real powers lay. Martial, whom we know to have been his friend, was at this time thirty years of age; and there is no very strong reason for supposing that he was younger than Martial. And Rutilius Gallicus, 157, was certainly praefectus urbi in the reign of Domitian, and we are told by Pomponius, in that of Vespasian, iv 77, note. *Per contra*, as Heinrich well remarks, Germanicus was the other consul, in A.D. 12, and surely the year would be known as his year, and not that of Fonteius, who was utterly obscure. (3) C. Fonteius Capito, consul, A.D. 59. If he be

meant, we shall get A.D. 120, or thereabouts, which certainly corresponds with what we should judge to be the date of publication of some of the other satires. (4) L. Fonteius Capito, consul, A.D. 67. On the whole, number three is the most probable. **18**: *proficis usu.* Other readings are *proficit usu*, and *proficit usus.* Between the first and second there is not much choice; though I think the change of person in *proficis*, upon the whole, livelier. The third would also stand; but then nearly all the MSS. have *usu.*

19–22: *sapientia* is opposed to *vita.* No doubt philosophy, with its precepts, is very sublime, but the experience of life might have taught you, as it has taught many others, to bear the ills of life. Others take *magna* with *praecepta.* **25**: *gladio* means "by assassination," x 20. *pyxide*, the (poison) box, for the poison which it contains. **27**: Boeotian Thebes was represented as having seven gates; Egyptian Thebes, xv 6, a hundred. The Nile was held to have seven principal outlets, or channels. *divitis*, in allusion to its fertilising powers. **28**: *Nona* is much better than *Nunc*, the reading of P. We have got very low indeed; this must be the ninth age, with no metal worthless enough to designate it. If *nunc* be retained, the meaning will be, "Now we are in a worse age and a worse epoch," &c., as if it were *pejor aetas*; cf. ii 122, *Scilicet horreres majoraque monstra putares*, and note. One MS. has *Non alias agitur*, which Mr. Simcox pronounces to be "a very pretty conjecture." It would not, otherwise, be necessary to notice it. **31**: *pro deum atque hominum fidem* was a common mode of expression. *fidem* is here "assistance." So in Catull. 63, Ariadne says, *Coelestumque fidem suprema comprecer hora.* The expression may have been sometimes used in other senses; and often, perhaps, like many of our expressions, with no very clear sense attached to it. See Long. note ad Cic. Div. in Q. Caec. 3. **32**: This Faesidius is a man who gets his clients to come and applaud him when he pleads. The practice is referred to by Plin. Epp. ii 14. *Sportula*, i 95, the thing for the person, as in our poet, passim. **33**: *bulla dignissime*, "in your second childhood." For *bulla*, cf. v 164, note. **36**: *Exigis*, the Fr. "vous exigez." **37**: *rubenti*, from the blood of the victims.

41 : *privatus.* He had not yet attained supreme power, vi 114, note. At vi 15 16, we have *Jove nondum barbato*, as *virguncula Juno*, here. The whole of this passage brings out strongly two marked characteristics of the author: his love "temporis acti," and the delight with which he ridicules the mythology of his country. **43** : *puer Iliacus*, Ganymede. *Herculis uxor*, Hebe. *ad cyathos* means "as cup-bearer." *Puer quis ex aula capillis Ad cyathum statuetur unctis?* Hor. Od. i 29 7 8. **44** : sqq. Vulcan comes in thirsty from his forge, and, after a drain of nectar, wipes off the sweat from his sooty arms. *jam siccato nectare*, "now that he has done with his nectar." **46** : sqq. *prandebat. prandium* was a plain, early meal. *nec turba Deorum*, &c. In those days, all sorts of foreign deities, deified heroes, Caesars, &c., &c., had not been added to the heavenly roll. *Augusto crescit sub principe coelum*, says Manilius, iv 928. **48** : *Atlanta.* This would be an anachronism, according to the commonly received account of Atlas, who was condemned by Zeus to bear heaven, after the contest with the Titans, in which he took part. Ovid, Metam. iv, tells another story. **49** : *triste imperium profundi* is the sea, and Neptune is meant. Jupiter, Neptune, and Pluto, the three sons of Saturn, divided his empire between them. **50** : *Sicula conjuge.* Pluto carried off Proserpine from Sicily. **51** : The wheel of Ixion, the stone of Sisyphus, the vulture that preyed on the liver of Tityos, did not yet exist.

54 : sqq. The reverence paid to age in the olden times has been celebrated, and no doubt exaggerated, by many writers. *Magna fuit quondam capitis reverentia cani*, says Ovid. This is one of the passages which Ribbeck points attention to, as showing that this Satire cannot be from the pen of the "real" Juvenal. The exaggeration, he says, is too great. Yet the language of Aulus Gellius, a very prosaic writer and no satirist, is nearly as strong, *Apud antiquissimos Romanorum neque generi neque pecuniae praestantior honos tribui quam aetati solitus: majoresque natu a minoribus colebantur ad Deum prope et parentum vicem; atque omni in loco, inque omni specie honoris, priores potioresque habiti*, N. A. ii 15. **54–59** come in rather strangely. **57** : *plura domi fraga*, &c., though he belonged to a wealthier family. The stores of primitive food were

their only wealth. So in Lucret. a primitive woman is won over by a gift of some acorns, &c., v 965. **60**: Cf. Ter. Phorm. i 2 5 6, *Praesertim ut nunc sunt mores; adeo res redit, Si quis quid reddit, magna habenda est gratia.* **62**: *Tuscis digna libellis*, "worthy of being recorded in the Etrurian books," *i.e.*, the books kept by the Etrurian soothsayers, in which, among other things, connected with religious observances, various wonderful portents were set down. Pliny speaks of one which he says he found *in Etruscae disciplinae voluminibus*, H.N. ii 83. Cicero speaks of the *libri Etruscorum*, de Divin. ii 23, and i 33; and cf. de Div. i 41. *Tyrrhena carmina*, Lucret. vi 381. From Etruria, as is well known, came a large portion of the Roman religious creed and ritual, especially what related to divination, sacrifices, &c. **63**: The ill which prodigies were supposed to threaten had to be averted by sacrifices, Cic., de Div. i 2, who adds, *omnem hanc ex Etruria scientiam adhibebant.* Livy tells us a sacrifice was offered, on a mule with three feet, being born, xl 2; so also when an ox spoke and it rained milk, and other wonderful events occurred. *bimembri* must mean "half man half beast." Such a boy is mentioned by Livy among his prodigies, *cum elephanti capite puerum natum.* The word is usually applied to centaurs. A mule with foal would be a prodigy, something like that which the poet supposes at ii 123, *Si mulier vitulum vel si bos ederet agnum.* Suetonius mentions one case of a mule having a foal, a prodigy which encouraged Galba in aiming at the Empire, cf. Sueton. Galb. 4. Showers of stones are common, Livy, Valerius Maximus, &c.; cf. Tibull. ii 5 72. The "wondering" plough is exactly in the poet's style, as we noticed at vi 657. We have three examples in close proximity to each other further on, *irato sistro, locupletem podagram, esuriens ramus.* Valer. Flacc. has *insons aratrum*, i 103. Another reading, *mirandis*, is adopted by Jahn. It is very tame, and has no better authority than the other. *uva* is "a cluster of bees." Compare Plin. H. N. xi 17, *Tunc (apes) ostenta faciunt privata ac publica, uva dependente in domibus templisve, saepe expiata magnis eventibus.* Virg. Aen. vii 67. *lactis vertice torrens.* Virgil has *torto vertice torrens*, Aen. vii 567. Showers of milk we have just cited from Livy, and Pliny

speaks of the atmosphere raining blood and milk, as not unfrequent, H. N. ii 56, where he also mentions showers of flesh, iron, wool, and baked tiles.

72: *decem sestertia*, 10 × £7, 16s. 3d. (the value of the sestertium after the time of Augustus), *i.e.*, about £78. Not a very heavy loss for a man of considerable property, 6 7, above. *bis centum* would be twenty times as much, about £1560. **74**: *angulus arcae*, the corner of the chest for the chest itself; as we should say, "the sides of the chest," or "its circumference," if it were round. **75**: *Tam facile et pronum est*, cf. ix 43, *An facile et pronum est. pronus* has the same meaning as *facilis. Prona tibi vinci cupientem vincere palma est*, Ov. Am. iii 14 47. **79**: *frameam* is "a lance," or "pike," as Tacitus expressly tells us, *hastas, vel ipsorum vocabulo frameas, gerunt*, Germ. 6. And in xi 106, we had the image of the same god, *clipeo venientis et hasta*; at xi 130, *nec terram cuspide pulsat*; all names for the same weapon. At x 20, Ribbeck is not satisfied with a Sarmatian *contus* in the hand of a Roman footpad (see note). He has more reason to be dissatisfied with a German *framea* in the hand of a Roman god. *Cirrhaei vatis*, Apollo. vii 64. The virgin-huntress is Diana. **81**: *pater Aegaei Neptune*. The Greek Poseidon, all of whose attributes came to be transferred to the Roman Neptunus, had his palace in the depths of the sea near Aegae, in Euboea. **84**: For examples of fathers swearing by their sons' heads cf. Plin. Epp. ii 20, Virg. Aen. 300. **85**: *Phario aceto*, "Egyptian vinegar," which the scholiast says was strong. Martial says it was better than the wine it was made from, xiii 122.

86: sqq. Juvenal may here allude to the Epicureans, but he may also have in view the great mass of unthinking people who charged everything upon fortune. *Toto quippe mundo et locis omnibus, omnibusque horis, omnium vocibus, Fortuna sola invocatur; una nominatur, una accusatur, una agitur rea, una cogitatur, sola laudatur, sola arguitur et cum conviciis colitur . . . Huic omnia expensa, huic omnia feruntur accepta . . . adeoque obnoxii sumus sorti ut sors ipsa pro Deo sit*, Plin. H. N. ii 7. **93**: *Isis*, xii 28, note. The *sistrum* (from σείειν, to shake) was a kind of rattle, used by the ancient Egyptians, and particularly in the worship of Isis. There is an engraving

of one in G. and R. Ant., art. "Sistrum." Martial speaks of the worshippers of Isis as *linigeri calvi, sistrataque turba*, xii 29 19. *abnego*, "repudiate,"—as we say, of a debt. **95**: *dimidium crus*, "a leg reduced to half its natural size," *i.e.*, a shrunken leg. Heinrich renders, "a broken leg," and quotes viii 4, and xv 5, and 57. I think, taking the context, *phthisis* and *vomicae putres*, the former is the meaning. Seneca speaks of *contracti cruris aridos nervos*, and, a little further on, of *vomica*, Epp. 68. **96**: *tanti.* Some put a note of interrogation here. "Are consumption, &c., of so much consequence?" but with a full stop, the sense is more forcible. "Consumption, &c., are worth the price." This is an amplification of what has preceded, *Dummodo vel caecus teneam quos abnego nummos.* For this sense of *tanti*, which is very common, cf. iii 54, *tanti tibi non sit opaci Omnis arena Tagi;* vi 137, *tanti vocat ille pudicam;* x 97. Pliny says, *magno mihi seu ratio haec, seu facilitas stetit: sed fuit tanti, i.e.*, it was worth the expenditure, Epp. viii 2; and the beautiful line of Tibullus, *Non ego sum tanti, ploret ut illa semel*, ii 6 42. **97**: *i.e.*, let him rather pray for the gout than fail to keep the money. *Ladas.* There were two well-known runners of this name; but the more celebrated was a native of Laconia. His name had become proverbial. *Non si Pegaseo ferar volatu, Non Ladas si ego pennipesve Perseus*, says Catull. 55 24 25. Sen. Epp. 85. *Si non eget Anticyra nec Archigene*, if he is not out of his senses. *Anticyra* was a town in Phocis, celebrated for producing the best hellebore, which was the supposed remedy for insanity. Hence the proverb Ἀντικίῤῥας σε δεῖ applied to a person who acted in a foolish way, which the poet has rendered here, by *eget Anticyra*, cf. Pers. iv 16. Erasmus (quoted by Macleane) mentions a Greek proverb, Ἀρχιγένου δεῖσθαι, corresponding to *Archigene eget.* The latter was a well-known physician, who has already appeared in vi 236. **99**: The Olympic games were celebrated near Pisa, in Elis, which originally held the presidency of the Olympic festivals. Hence *Pisaeae ramus olivae.* It is called *esuriens*, as a contrast to *locuples podagra.* **100**: The slowness, and yet the certainty, of divine vengeance was a very common topic both in Greek and Roman writers. Plutarch has a treatise on it. *Lento quidem gradu ad vindictam sui divina*

procedit ira tarditatemque supplicii gravitate compensat, Valer. Max. i 1, extern. 3; *Sera quidem (Dei) manet ira tamen*, Stat. Theb. v 689; *dii immortales, lenti quidem sed certi vindices generis humani*, M. Sen. Controv. v 29. Here the offender is represented as thinking of its tardy pace only. *pede poena claudo*, Hor.; *tarda Poena*, Tibull. Perhaps it may never come up with him; or, the gods may prove forgiving. They must indeed have had a good many cases to attend to, if one of Plautus's characters speaks truly, *Siquidem incubare (Jovi) velint, qui perjuraverint, Locus non praeberi potis est in Capitolio*, Curc. ii 2 18 19. *Quod nemo novit paene non fit*, says the woman in Appuleius, Met. x. *servat multos Fortuna nocentes*, Lucan, iii 448. *sed* is "moreover," "more than this."

107: *confirmant*. We have here the plural, the singular preceding and following, "So these people go on," &c. This change is not uncommon in the Latin authors. A good instance occurs in Catull. 64, where Ariadne, speaking of the male sex, says, *Jam jam nulla viro juranti femina credat, Nulla viri speret sermones esse fideles Qui dum aliquid cupiens animus praegestit apisci Nil metuunt jurare, nihil promittere parcunt*. *formidine* is the apprehension caused by a consciousness of guilt. *ad delubra vocantem*, sc., "to swear." He will go there before you and perjure himself of his own accord. **109**: *superest*. Ribbeck has given the right sense of this, and Mr. Evans has it correctly rendered, "when a wicked cause is backed by impudence." *superesse alicui*, in this sense, is to assist a man with one's advocacy. It is so used by Augustus in Sueton. Aug. 56. Aulus Gellius, i 22, censures this employment of the word; but he admits that it was general and accepted. *adesse* is the usual word. **110, 111**: The allusion is to some farce of Catullus, the playwright, who has been spoken of at viii 186, note. *urbani*, "of the town," hence "smart," "witty." *salibus vehemens intra pomeria natis*, Juv. ix 11. *nonnulli urbanorum*, "some of the town wits," Suet. J. Caes. 20; Hor. Sat. i 10 13; Quint. vi 3, &c. So *urbanitas* in our sense of "cockney-jokes, tricks," Tac. Hist. ii 88. And so, on the other hand, the country is spoken of as heavy, devoid of wit, *Idem infaceto est infacetior rure*, Catull. 22 14. *rustice*, awkwardly, Cic. **112, 113**: The commentators quote from

Homer, Il. v 785 and 859, which doubtless Juvenal had in view. Stentor shouts like fifty men; but Mars like ten thousand. *Gradivus*, ii 128. **119**: *Vagellius* is unknown. He occurs again at xvi 23, as a *declamator*. He was probably some frothy spouter, who put up a statue of himself, as we saw, in Satire vii, that lawyers sometimes did.

120: *Accipe* is either, Hear what consolations he can give, or accept the consolations, &c. The poet says, I can put you in the way of obtaining some comfort, though I don't profess to be acquainted with the doctrines of the various philosophical schools, Cynic, Stoic, or Epicurean. Those who wish to be better informed than Juvenal on the leading doctrines of these various sects under the Empire should consult Lecky's "European Morals," vol. 1. The Cynics were called *ἀχίτωνες*, which explains *tunica distantia*. Seneca says of Demetrius, one of them, *Demetrium virorum optimum mecum circumfero et relictis conchyliatis cum illo seminudo loquor, illum admiror*, Epp. 62. *Epicurus* and his garden occur again at xiv 319. Pliny says, he was the first to lay out a garden at Athens, H. N. xix 4. *suspectum*, "looked up to," occurred at ix 57. **124, 125**: Your case is such a simple one that it requires no professor in the art to treat you. You may allow a mere novice to bleed you. Bleeding was a universal remedy in the old times, vi 46, as bleeding and calomel have been up to our day. *Philippus* must be some obscure practitioner. *dubius aeger* is a sick man in doubtful case. So *dubius* simply. *Cur modo te dubiam pavidi flevere parentes?* Ov. Her. 20 199. **126**: sqq. *Si nullum in terris, &c.* The case is no exceptional one. The world is full of bad men. This is what the poet said at starting. This Satire seems to me a very undigested work. **129**: *claudenda est janua*, as in the case of a death in the house; and the loss of money, he goes on to say, is held to be something still more dreadful. Beating the breast, &c., and rending the garments, were familiar signs of grief, *scissaque Polyxena palla*, x 262. *diducere*, another reading is *deducere;* and these two words, like others prefixed with *di* and *de*, are perpetually interchanged in the MSS. Macleane, who reads the former, says, in his off-hand way, "*deducere* has no meaning here." On the contrary, it would

be quite correct. Ovid has *tunicam summa deducere turpiter ora Ad mediam*, Am. i 7 47, where the MSS. present no variation, and Calpurnius (the best MS. reading, and so Glaiser edits), *Deduxi tunicas, et pectora nuda cecidi*, iii 30. However, *diducere* has a shade better MS. authority. **133**: *hum. coact. lacrimis coactis.* Virg. Aen. ii 196. **134**: is, of course, objected to by some critics. **135**: *cuncta fora*, ii 52. There were three principal *fora* in Rome, cf. Dict. G. and R. Ant., ad verb. **136**: *decies*, "a score of times," as we should say. *diversa parte lectis, i. e.*, after the documents have been carefully gone over ever so many times, and settled between the parties, so that there can be no doubt whatever as to the identity of the instrument. So Heinrich takes it, and I think he is right. Hodgson, in his translation, gives the same sense, "though ten times o'er perused by careful witnesses before." **137**: This line is repeated, with the variation of *dicens* for *dicunt* at xvi 41. *ligni*, the tablets were of wood, waxed. **138**: *gemmaque princeps Sardonychum.* Though these fellows deny their debt, they are rolling in wealth. The signet-rings with which they have sealed the repudiated deeds are of costly sardonyx. The sardonyx has been mentioned at vi 382, and vii 144, and cf. Pers. i 16, *natalitia tandem cum sardonyhce albus, i.e.*, in his holiday attire, of which a ring of this stone formed a part. Pliny has a good deal about the sardonyx and the estimation in which it was held by the Romans, H. N. xxxvii 6, and in c. 1 of the same book he says that the famous ring that Polycrates threw into the sea was of this stone. Herodotus and the other writers speak of it as an emerald. **140**: *delicias*, cf. vi 47. *delicias hominis.* **141**: *gallinae filius albae.* Columella (cited by Heinrich and Ruperti) says that white hens were not prolific, Re Rust. viii 2 7, which explains this passage. "Why should you have come into the world under exceptional circumstances?" There is also, no doubt, a reference to white as a lucky colour. If Juvenal had read, or remembered, the above passage in Columella, he might perhaps have given a different illustration, since that writer represents white hens as being particularly liable to be pounced upon by "hawks" and birds of prey, from being more easily seen.

145: *inc. sulf. coept.* ξίφη τε κάι στυπεια κάι θεῖον εἰς τὴν Κεθήγου φέροντες οἰκιαν, Plut. Cic. **146**: *primos cum janua colligit ignes.* Compare ix 98, *candelam apponere vulvis.* **148**: *robigo* seems to be rust, as applied to any metal. *ferrugo* is properly the rust of iron, and *aerugo*, of brass. Pliny, H. N., applies *robigo* to both, *aes ac ferrum robigo corripit*, and in another passage to gold; see Forcellini. Horace applies it to corn, apparently in the sense of blight or mildew, *nec pestilentem sentiet Africum Fecunda vitis nec sterilem seges Robiginem*, Od. iii 23 5 7, and so Virgil and Ovid. We speak of corn rusting. **150**: *minor*, "ready to commit sacrilege on a smaller scale," "ready to turn a dishonest penny in any way." The man who before now has melted down a full-length statue of Jupiter, won't hesitate, if there is nothing better to be done in his line, to scrape the gold off the thighs of a Neptune, &c. (In the next satire, 261, we hear of the helmet of Mars being stolen.) This is the only way in which we can give a clear sense to this passage, but even thus it must be confessed that 153 does not come in very well. It would be better away. **154**: *mercatorem*, "the purchaser," xiv 143. **155**: *deducendum*, a metaphor from a ship. Cf. viii 213, note. **157**: *quota pars, scelerum. Et quota pars ista scelerum est?* Sen. de Ir. ii 8. *quota portio faecis Achaei?* Juv. iii 61. *Rutilius Gallicus* was praefectus urbi, iv 77, under Domitian, and possibly under Vespasian, and the friend of Statius, the poet, Silv. i 4. Either, therefore, the first draft of this Satire dates from Vespasian, 17 note, or Gallicus is used for the prefect of the day; why, it is difficult to say, for Gallicus was not a well-known man. The *praefectus urbi*, after the time of Augustus, was a sort of magistrate, and chief of the police with very extended powers, cf. Dict. G. and R. Ant. **162**: goître is still common in the Alps. *Quis tumidum guttur miratur in Alpibus?* is very much in the style of *Quis tulerit Gracchos de seditione querentes?* at ii 24. **164, 165**: Martial has an epigram on the *flava caesaries* of the northern nations. *Arctoa de gente comam tibi Lesbia misi, Ut scires quanto sit tua flava magis*, v 68. Tacitus speaks of the Germans' *truces et coerulei oculi.* The swelled breasts of Meroe are otherwise unknown to us. This passage seems a remi-

niscence of Sen. de Ira. iii 26. **172**: *assidue*, "continually." Often as these sights occur, no one laughs. Heinrich renders "attentively." This illustration is not very happily introduced. In the country of the pigmies, certainly no one who looked on at their combats with the cranes (and who could look on except pigmies?) would be likely to laugh; but this would be not on account of the commonness of the sight, but of its peril.

176, 177: *nostro necari arbitrio* is "to be put to death in any way we choose." *Thraseae Soranoque et Serviliae datur mortis arbitrium*, are allowed to choose their own mode of death, Tac. Ann. xvi 33; Sueton. Domit. 8. **178–180**: Some take from *sed* to *ipsa* as the speech of the objector. The sense will then be, "But the slightest quantity of blood will afford an enviable consolation." In that case, it is said that *at* should be *et*; but the real objection is that the sense is far inferior. **181**: *indoctus*, as Macleane observes, is commonly used of those who have not been made acquainted with the doctrines of the philosophers. It is so used at ii 4, and perhaps at iii 87, but not at viii 49. Generally, it implies want of skill in any particular art, Virg. Ecl. iii 26, Coningt. **184, 185**: Great philosophers like Chrysippus or Thales or Socrates won't say so. **189**: sqq. *quippe minuti*, &c. The contempt for women, real or affected, of the author which forms the key-note of the sixth satire, breaks out here. **193–195**: *quos diri conscia facti . . . flagellum.* This is certainly a reminiscence of Lucretius. *at mens sibi conscia factis Praemetuens adhibet stimulos terretque flagellis*, iii 1018 1019. Ov. Met. viii 530 has almost the same words. **194**: *surdo*, "noiseless," "mute," as at vii 71. *surdus*, however, like the French "sourd," its derivative, sometimes has a meaning which is not exactly "noiseless," or "dumb." The French say "un bruit sourd," a dull noise. **196**: *Poena autem vehemens*, without a verb. This is very much in the same style as *Poena autem praesens cum tu deponis amictus*, in Satire 1. *dumque ardens sanguine*, xi. **197**: *Caedicius*, a cruel courtier of Nero, according to the scholiast. As Heinrich remarks, this might have been gathered from the text, and the same observation will apply, as we have already noticed, to many

of these scholia. There is a man of the name mentioned at xvi 46.

199: sqq. The Spartan was one Glaucus. His story is told in Herodotus, vi 86. He was a man with a great reputation for honesty, on the strength of which a certain Milesian entrusted a sum of money to him. On the sons of the Milesian coming to claim the deposit, Glaucus denied all recollection of it, but told them to come again in four months, and in the meanwhile made a journey to Delphi, to consult the oracle. In obedience to the intimation of the oracle, he paid over the amount confided to him, but as a punishment for his criminal hesitation, his whole family died out; in the third generation not a trace of them was to be found in Sparta. This story (says Mr. Blakesley ad loc.) is not very aptly reproduced here, as regards the subject illustrated, and I think this is clear. **202**: *quaerebat*, "he kept inquiring." Glaucus was not satisfied with the first answer, and was then told by the priestess, that τὸ πειρηθῆναι τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὸ ποιῆσαι ἴσον δύνασθαι, "to tempt the God was as bad as to commit the act;" which Juvenal has almost literally rendered below, *Nam scelus intra se tacitum qui cogitat ullum Facti crimen habet.* This doctrine, which it has been supposed that Christianity was the first to preach, is found in more than one passage of the heathen authors, *ex gr.*, Senec. de Ben. v 14, *Sic latro est, etiam antequam manus inquinet: quia ad occidendum jam armatus est, et habet spoliandi atque interficiendi voluntatem.* **204**: *tamen* refers to *reddidit.* He restored it (from fear, it is true, and not from principle), and yet, &c. **205, 206**: *exstinctus probavit;* as we should say, "his death, with that of all his relations, proved;" see vi 8, *exstinctus passer*, "the death of a sparrow," &c., i 163, note. *quamvis longa deductis gente* means, however remotely they were connected with him. **208, 209**: See note 202 above. Such was the punishment of one who merely harboured a guilty intention, &c. But what if he has actually committed the crime (like your false friend)? **213**: *difficili crescente cibo.* Seneca has *non in ore crevit cibus, non haesit in faucibus*, in the same sense, Epp. 82. *sed*, "aye, even his wine the wretch spits out," a common use of *sed. Boletus domino, sed quales Claudius edit*, v 147, "aye, even such as

Claudius ate," xiv 117. *affer duas claras. Claras? Sed probas, propera cito*, Plaut. Rud. iii 5. Some editors, such as Jahn and Ribbeck, have substituted *Setina* for *sed vina*, with no MS. authority and against all probability. For *sed vina* to be changed into *Setina*, would have been natural (though the change does not appear to have been made in the MSS.), but it is not easy to imagine that a transcriber would alter *Setina* into the more difficult *sed vina*. **214**: Alban wine we had at v 33. Falernian wine seems to have been very alcoholic and required keeping. Pliny says it was the only wine that took fire when flame was applied to it. He adds that there were three kinds, one of which he calls *austerum*, and that it had much degenerated in his day, H.N. xiv 6. *Falerni calices amariores*, Catull. 27, Hor. Od. i 27 9, &c., *densissima ruga*, "a crowd of wrinkles," like *densissima lectica*, i 120. **221**: *major imago humana. Offertur ei mulieris figura, humana grandior*, Plin. Epp. vii 27. *majorem humana speciem*, Tac. Hist. i 86, iv 83, and *major humana vox*, v 13. *nota major imago*, Virg., &c.

223: sqq. The elder Pliny, in his second book, has collected a mass of information, originally worthless, but which the lapse of time has rendered curious, about the thunder and lightning of his day. Here the guilty wretch thinks the storm directed at him. Compare the well-known passage in which King Lear apostrophises the tempest, "Let the great gods, That keep this dreadful pother o'er our heads, Find out their enemies now. Tremble, thou wretch, That hast within thee undivulged crimes Unwhipped of justice," &c. Caligula used to hide under a bed during a thunderstorm, according to Suetonius, Cal. 51. *Me reor infesto cum tonat igne peti*, says Ovid, Trist. i 1 82. **229**: *vigili cum febre*, "with the fever that never goes to sleep;" *vigiles fenestrae*, iii 275, *pervigili toro*, xv 43, *pernox alea*, viii 10, or "with the fever which keeps them awake." So *sterilis*, often, for "causing sterility," Hor. Od. iii 23 6. It will scarcely be believed that *vigili febre* is one of the figures of speech in the so-called "Declamator" which Ribbeck objects to as too violent. **233**: *cristam galli*, the same as *gallum cristatum*. The whole cock was offered, cf. xii 96. A cock (or a goat) was usually vowed to Aesculapius, in case of recovery from illness; here, the Lares are spoken of

as the recipients. **237**: *superest* is used in the same sense as at 109, where see note. **238**: *tandem*, "too late," as at vi 361. **240**: *mutari nescia*, "incapable of change;" *rudis et Graias mirari nescius artes*, xi 100, *nesciat irasci*, x 360 xiv 231. Here the nature of these bad men is spoken of as *fixa* and *mutari nescia*. A few lines above, we are told that it is *moblilis* and *varia*. And although we may understand the poet's meaning, it is impossible to admire the ambiguous way in which he has expressed it, unless 236 be spurious, as I am inclined to think that it is. **241, 242**: *quando . . . ruborem*. Ribbeck asks, How can modesty be thrown out by rubbing? But this is not the sense. *Attritus* here, as *frons durior*, viii 189, means "hardened," "hardened by contact with the world," as we say. *trita frons sub persona* (the same expression, used in a double sense), Sen. Nat. Quaest. vii 32. **245**: *uncus*, the hook by which the bodies of criminals were dragged along to the Tiber, after execution, *Sejanus ducitur unco*, x 66. It was inserted under the chin, *fixus mento*. Prop. iv 1 141, *infixus faucibus*, Ov. Ibis 168, where, however, some read *ossibus*. The man will either be put to death some day, or transported to some island where he will meet with plenty of fashionable company. Macleane says, "*exsulibus magnis* does not mean they were great in anything but wickedness." I think it means simply exiles of quality. **248**: *nominis invisi*, "the hated person;" not a very unusual sense of *nomen* in the poets. *pater O relictum Filiae nomen*, Hor. Od. iii 27 34; Tibull. iii 4 61. **249**: *nec surdum nec Tiresiam*, "neither deaf nor blind." Tiresias was the blind prophet of Thebes.

INTRODUCTION TO SATIRE XIV.

THERE are many vices, such as gambling, gluttony, cruelty, incontinence, and the like, which parents teach their children by their own example. Youth is sure to make a pattern of what it sees done at home. It is, therefore, essential that parents should not only themselves abstain from all vicious practices, but should banish from their houses everything of a nature to corrupt the minds of the young. How inconsistent it is to blame your boys for exaggerating your faults, when you yourself have been their instructor!

When a guest is expected, you take very good care that your house and furniture should show to advantage, and be free from dirt. Would that you took the same pains with your household in a moral point of view, that your son might see nothing that marred its purity. It makes all the difference how you bring him up. We see this in the brute creation. Vultures and eagles, when they grow up, take to the same food that the parent bird first brought to them in the nest. Cetronius spent a great part of his fortune in building; his son squandered the remainder in the same way. Some men show a respect for Judaism (Christianity); their sons become proselytes and fall complete victims to the superstition.

Young men, I say, are prone to imitate what is bad, but there is one vice in particular which is actually forced upon them against their inclination. The poet draws a graphic picture of a miser, and exhibits some of the paltry and sordid household economies which he teaches his child. When by these means a fortune is saved, estates are purchased, and their boundaries enlarged, often by violence. But what matters ill-

fame? Money is the grand thing! He then goes on, in his usual style, to contrast all these great possessions with the simplicity and frugality of the ancient inhabitants of Italy. Luxury has brought all these evils upon us. Parents and nurses are always instilling the main chance into their charge's minds as the one great rule of life. Don't be afraid! Your son will assuredly better your instructions. He will commit all sorts of crimes which you may say that you never had in view, but of which you are assuredly the prime cause. Perhaps some day he may come to think that you yourself are living rather too long!

It is better than a play to watch the ways in which these people get money. The poet then describes the perils of the deep (of which he always seems to have a very vivid sense), which are voluntarily run by merchants in quest of wealth. To think of them being tossed about by the waves is as good as to watch an acrobat, or a tight-rope dancer. Some day the ship goes to pieces, and then our poor friend, half naked and starving, has to beg his bread. Then what terrible cares does the guardianship of great wealth involve? What a dreadful fright the millionaire is in lest a fire should consume his house and treasures of art! Diogenes in his tub had no such apprehensions. He was far happier than Alexander pining for a whole world. All that is really requisite is what may be enough to sustain life decently. If that rule seems too rigid for our manners, I give you a knight's or even a senator's fee. If that won't satisfy you, nothing in the world will.

Macleane well remarks upon 90 (see 90 note), that the palace of Hadrian could hardly have been built when Juvenal wrote this Satire. The date of this construction is uncertain, but it could scarcely have been later than A.D. 134. Some see in 196 an allusion to Hadrian's visit to Britain, A.D. 120–121, but this kind of conjecture is worthless. It might as well be said that 99 is an allusion to the order against circumcision issued by that Emperor, which was one of the causes of the Jewish war which broke out in his reign.

NOTES TO SATIRE XIV.

1: Nothing further is known of Fuscinus. **2**: *nitidis rebus.* The minds of the children, naturally innocent, are the "bright things." Mr. Simcox, whose Juvenal forms part of a classical and educational series called "Catena Classicorum," has six consecutive notes on the first nine lines of this Satire, which, being very short, may be cited as offering in a small space an almost perfect specimen of what notes for boys ought not to be:—"*nitidis . . . rebus*, as we should say, 'a tidy property.' *monstrant . . . traduntque*, cause and effect. *senem. lusimus* γερουτικῶς, Suet. Aug. 71. *Bullatus.* He does not begin too late for mischief. *eodem*, as his father. *didicit*, he has learnt to do it himself, for he cannot trust the cook." As far as all this is intelligible, it is either wrong or violently strained. *damnosa alea. Alea parva nuces et non damnosa videntur*, Mart. xiv 18. **5**: *fritillo*, the box from which the dice were thrown, called also *turricula*, Mart. xiv 16; *phimus*, Hor. Sat. ii 7 17, and *pyrgus*, though some have endeavoured to distinguish between them. Martial speaks of *incerti fritilli*, *i.e.*, rendering it uncertain how the dice would fall; and Seneca of *resonante fritillo*, making a rattle. They must have resembled the implements in use now. *arma* are the dice; and in i 91, the steward who carries the gambling apparatus is called *armiger; Proelia quanta illic dispensatore videbis Armigero. Bullatus*, v 164, note. **6**: sqq. Truffles and mushrooms, as delicacies, occurred in Sat. v. *boletus*, for convenience, may be translated "mushrooms;" but what we call mushrooms (agaricus campestris) are precisely what the modern Italians do not eat. And it is most likely that the tradition on this subject has remained. *ficedula*, "the beccafico," is similarly mentioned by Martial, xiii 5, and 49, who makes the second syllable long. There is, however, no

necessity for supposing, with Macleane, that it should perhaps be pronounced here as a word of three syllables. There are plenty of examples in which, with regard to syllables of words not in very common use in poetry, and which were probably not strongly marked in pronunciation, the poets pleased themselves about the quantity. *nebulone parente* had better be taken with *monstrante;* but it could also stand alone, "with a debauchee for his father." *gula*, i 140, v 94, the thing for the person. **10**: sqq. *cum septimus . . . renato.* Seven years of age was an epoch in life with the Romans. Up to that time children were *infantes* in the eye of the law. Pliny speaks of it as the age at which they shed their front teeth and get them replaced by others, H. N. vii 16. **12**: *barbatos magistros, i.e.*, teachers of philosophy, Pers. iv 1. Beards were much affected by those who set up as philosophers, Stoics, Cynics, &c. *ἐκ πώγωνος σοφός* was a Greek proverb, which Horace has imitated in *sapientem pascere barbam*, Sat. ii 3 35. *Video barbam et pallium, philosophum nondum video*, Aul. Gell. N. A. ix 2; Appul. Met. xi 244. The Emperor Hadrian reintroduced the general practice of wearing a beard; because he had scars on his face, Plutarch says (if so, much for the same reason that made George IV. take to high stocks); but very likely owing to his affectation of philosophy.

15: *modicis erroribus aequos.* Sen. has the same expression, *err. aeq.* de Ira. ii 10, as *erroribus placabilis*, Plin. Epp. ix 24, "indulgent to small transgressions;" not bursting into a passion, but preserving his equanimity. Cicero has the phrases, *praebere se aequum alicui, aequissimus aestimator et judex*, &c. Macleane is here quite wide of the mark. He translates "a mild habit that seldom goes wrong." He himself goes very wrong here; which is not usual with him. **16**: sqq. *O demens, ita servus homo est!* exclaimed the lady in vi 222. *Rutilus.* This name occurred at the beginning of Satire xi, where it stood for a man who had run through his property. Here it stands for a tyrannical master. He thinks the sound of the whip more delightful than the song of a Siren. *Antiphates* was King of the Laestrygones, in Sicily, who ate up one of the three men whom Ulysses had sent out as explorers, and sunk all his ships but one. The

story is told by Homer, Odyss. x 80–132. *Polyphemus* we had at ix 64. *tortore*, cf. vi 480, *sunt quae tortoribus annua praestent.* Slaves were put to the torture to obtain evidence; but the meaning here seems to be that the poor wretch is branded with hot iron because a couple of towels are missing, perhaps at the bath, Mart. xii 70. *Lygdamus uratur, candescat lamina vernae*, Propert. iv 7 35. Hence a slave so marked is called *literatus* by Plautus, and *trium literarum homo, i.e., fur*, Aul. ii 4 46; see next note. Of course, there would be a check upon the cruelty of many masters in the fear of vengeance on the part of the slaves. And this vengeance was not unfrequently resorted to. Seneca says, *non pauciores servorum ira cecidisse quam regum*, Epp. 4: see the story related in Plin. Epp. iii 14. **16. 17**: Cf. Sen. Epp. 47, *Vis tu cogitare istum quem servum tuum vocas, ex iisdem seminibus ortum, eodem frui coelo, aeque spirare, aeque vivere, aeque mori?* and, again, de Clement. i 18, *ejusdem naturae est, cujus tu.* Compare Petron. 71, and Quinct. Declam. xiii, for similar sentiments. Macrob., Saturn. ix 11, seems to have copied Juvenal as well as Seneca, *quasi non ex isdem tibi (servi) et constent et alantur elementis*, &c. **24**: *inscripta ergastula*, the branded slaves who were lodged in the *ergastula* (vi 151, note), dungeons often built underground, Colum. i 6 3. The word is used in the same sense by Pliny, H. N. xviii 6, *coli rura ab ergastulis pessimum est.* So *carcer* for "one in a prison," Lucil. Slaves were, of course, chattels, and the Jurisconsults call them *ruris instrumenta vocalia*, oxen *semivocalia*, "waggons," "ploughs," &c., *muta.* An F on the forehead signified *Fugitivus.* Slaves marked in this and other ways were called *Inscripti. Quatuor inscripti portabant vile cadaver*, Mart. viii 75 9, *literati* (see last note), and *stigmatici* in Cicero. It is to this that Martial alludes when he says of an upstart, *Et numerosa linunt stellantem splenia frontem Ignoras quis sit? splenia tolle, leges*, ii 29. Take off the plasters, and you will see that he is an inscriptus.

24: *carcer rusticus.* These bridewells were in the country, *Augebis ruri numero genus ferratile*, Plaut. Most. i 1 18; Juv. viii 180, xi 80 81. Some put a stop after *carcer*, and take *Rusticus* with *exspectas*, on the strength of Horace's well-known

Rusticus exspectat dum defluat amnis, in which case the sense will be, "are you such a rustic as to suppose?" **25**: sqq. Compare x 220, sqq. **33**: *subeunt*, the reading of P. Most MSS. have *subeant*, when the sense will be, "since they enter the mind." The indicative is, I think, more in Juvenal's manner. *auct.* So Cic. calls a man's father *domesticus auctor*, Cic. Balb. 22. **35**: *Titan* is Prometheus, a son of the Titan Iapetus, the fabled creator of the human race. *Quam satus Iapeto mixtam fluvialibus undis Finxit in effigiem moderantum cuncta Deorum*, Ov. Met. i 82 83. Men were spoken of as *compositi luto* at vi 13. **36**: *reliquos.* Mr. Munro, ad Lucret. i 550, says that Persius, Silius, Statius and Juvenal first used *reliquus* as a trisyllable, and that Virgil and Horace avoided the word. In the older writers it is four-syllabled. **37**: *veteris trahit orbita culpae.* Compare xiii 239 240, *ad mores natura recurrit Damnatos.* *orbita* is properly the track or rut made by a wheel. *hujus* depends upon *potens.* **41**: *Turpibus ac pravis.* Macleane says that both of these words are applied to the human shape, and that they may be translated here "ugly and deformed." I think not; it is exclusively of mental and moral characteristics that the author is speaking; and besides people are *not* prone to imitate what is physically ugly and deformed. *turpe* is used of a bad action, below 48. Catiline is a favourite illustration of Juvenal's, ii 27, viii 231, x 288. The uncle of Brutus was Cato of Utica. Plin. Epp. vii 24. **44**: *risu* is illustrated by *puellae; dictu* by the parasite's song. **47**: *reverentia*, "respect for," as ii 110, *Hic nullus verbis pudor aut reverentia mensae*, v 72. Cic. couples *Brutus* and *avunculus ejus* in the same way, ad Att. v 21. **48**: *ne tu . . . annos*, "don't look down upon him as if he were too young to take notice." **56**: *Unde tibi frontem*, &c. So Horace *Unde mihi lapidem? . . . unde sagittas?* Sat. ii 7 116. Sat. ii 5 102. *quo* is similarly used by our poet, viii 9 142, and below 135. *frontem* is the brow of authority; "the front of Jove to threaten and command," of Shakespeare. *frons paterna* is used as *frons parentis*, here, by Calpurn. *Ludere conantem vetuisti fronte paterna*, iv 21. **58**: *ventosa*, "windy." The cupping-glass is "ventouse" in French. In point of fact, as is well known, it is the reverse of windy, a portion of the

air being exhausted in it. This causes the blood to rise. *cucurbita* is properly a gourd, Mart. xi. 31 1. He says the man is mad and ought long ago to have been cupped. Cupping and bleeding were resorted to in cerebral affections. So at vi 46, *O medici mediam pertundite venam*, Bleed him, doctors; he is mad. *quotiescumque coeperis a te exire, sanguinem tibi a capite mittam*, Petron. 90. In this passage Juvenal first makes the son exaggerate his father's sins, 53, and then says the father is all the time committing worse sins, *pejora*, 57, than the son.

59: sqq. If company is expected none of your servants will be allowed to be idle. There will be a general setting to rights and cleaning up, that the house may appear to the best advantage. The *pavimentum* in rich men's houses would be of costly material, marble, mosaic, &c. *Marmoribus rivi properant*, vi 430. The *atrium* in the house of the tragic poet at Pompeii was paved with white marble. *nitidas ostende columnas*, "show them," *i.e.*, by drawing aside the curtains, such as those which separated the *atrium* from the *tablinum* or muniment-room; or *ostende nitidas* may also be rendered, "show them forth in all their splendour," like *pueros producit avaros*, 228 (and *senibus indulget porcis*, as Heinrich takes it "ita ut senes fiant," vi 160), a common idiom. **62**: *aspera vasa.* Virgil speaks of *aspera signis pocula.* So *stantem extra pocula caprum*, i 76, *inaequales beryllo phialas*, v 38, where stones have been let in. With the preceding speech, compare Plautus, Pseud. i 2 28, *Tibi hoc praecipio ut niteant aedes . . . Tu esto lectisterniator. tu argentum eluito; idem exstruito . . . Vorsa, sparsa, tersa strata, lautaque omnia ut sient*, &c. *lavet* is another reading for *leve*, in respect to which a critic asks, Who ever has plate washed? I should imagine every one who uses plate. But *leve* seems better; and is the reading of P. **62**: *virga murmur omne (servorum) compescitur* Macrob. Sat. i 11. **66, 67**: *uno, semodio, servulus, unus* repeated, serve to emphasise the meaning, and to show at what a very trifling expense all this which he makes such a fuss about, might be set straight. This is quite in the poet's manner, cf. iii 226 227, note. Saw-dust (which was used in the same way as our tea-leaves) would, of course, be very cheap, *Vilibus in scopis, in mappis, in scobe, quantus Consistit sumptus?* Hor. Sat. ii 4 81. It seems to

have been thrown on the floor, also, at the end of dinner, after which the scraps, fallen crumbs, &c., were swept up. Senec. Controv. 25. At Trimalchio's banquet, it is scented, Petron. 68. The *semodius* would be about one English gallon.

70, 71: Bentley, speaking of this passage, says, "Vah, quam inficeta et inconcinna repetitio est *patriae, patriae;*" and he proposes *patribus* in the first line, Bentl. ad Hor. Od. iii 6 20. To me, on the contrary, it seems that the repetition is highly forcible (and certainly in Juvenal's manner, x 103 104, note). "We are much obliged to you for giving another citizen to the country, if you take care that he is useful to the country." Compare viii 28, *rarus Civis, et egregius, patriae contingis ovanti.* **74**: *instituas.* The Fr. *instituteur* still exhibits this precise sense of the word. With regard to what follows, Pliny informs us that storks were so much esteemed for destroying serpents, that in Thessaly it was a capital offence to kill one of them, H. N. x 23. Virg. Georg. ii 320. **77**: sqq. The vulture hastens back to her young from the carcases of cattle and dogs, and dead bodies hanging on crosses, carrying in her beak some of the carrion. *aves, famulae Jovis, et generosae,* are one subject, "eagles." Eagles are believed to be not much, if at all, more delicate in their food than vultures; but Juvenal here, as elsewhere in his illustrations drawn from natural history, follows popular tradition. Beavers do not mutilate themselves, xii 34. Ants do not lay up stores for winter, vi 361. Cranes have not got talons, xiii 169. Elephants do not shed their tusks when they have grown too heavy, xi 126. Nor is it likely that they were ever found in Arabia. Probably there were no bears in Africa, iv 100. Tigers and boars *do* fight among each other, xv 161; and it may be added that vultures build on rocks, and not in trees, as here represented. Juvenal might, however, plead in excuse, as to the last error, the example of Phaedrus, who makes a similar mistake about eagles, *Aquila in sublimi quercu nidum fecerat,* ii 4; and of Ovid, who also represents vultures as building in trees, Am. i 12 20.

86: sqq. The poet introduces, as another illustration of his meaning, one Cetronius, who may be either a real or

fictitious personage. This man had the passion for building which was so common among the wealthy Romans, and spent a great part of his fortune in erecting costly villas. See what followed. His son, with his father's bad example before his eyes, and trained to the same tastes, squandered all that was left (and it was no inconsiderable sum) in the same way. **87**: *Gaietae.* The modern Gaeta. *Tibur* and *Praeneste* are coupled at iii 190–192. **89, 90**: Marble for building was imported from various parts of Greece and Africa. *Numidarum fulta columnis . . . coenatio,* vii 182 183. *Montibus aut alte Graiis effulta nitebant Atria,* Stat. Theb. i 145. Pliny, H. N. xxxvi 3, speaks of L. Crassus, the orator, as the first who introduced into Rome pillars of foreign marble. They were from Hymettus, in Attica. **90**: *Fortunae atque Herculis aedem.* There was a celebrated temple of Fortune at Praeneste. The modern town of Palestrina is almost entirely built upon its foundations. It is often alluded to by the poets, *Praenestinae moenia sacra Deae,* Ov. Fast. vi 61. *Fortuna Praenestina,* Lucan, ii 193 194. Tibur was famed for the worship of Hercules, and the epithet "Herculeum" is often applied to it by the poets, *Itur ad Herculei gelidas qua Tiburis arces,* Mart. i 13 1. Strabo viii 11, speaks of the temple of Hercules at Tibur, and shortly afterwards of the celebrated temple and oracle of Fortune at Praeneste. Macleane well remarks that the enormous buildings erected by Hadrian at the foot of the hills of Tibur, could hardly have been built when Juvenal wrote these verses, or he would probably have alluded to them. They formed the most magnificent cluster of structures in Italy, embracing a circuit of eight miles. **90, 91**: *vincens, vincebat.* So Seneca speaks of *aedificia privata laxitatem urbium magnarum vincentia,* de Benef. vii 10, where, of course, the grounds and gardens must be included. **91**: *Posides* was a freedman and favourite of Claudius. Pliny, xxxi 2, speaks of some baths at Baiae which were called after him. It would seem from this passage that he erected fine structures, as so many others did. **92**: sqq. *Dum habitat . . . imminuit, fregit,* and lower down, *turbavit . . . dum attollit.* The common construction. Tacitus joins *dum* to the present, even in oblique

constructions, with a past tense preceding, Hist. iii 38, Ernesti's note.

96: sqq. The poet introduces the Jews; see vi 159 160, where the Sabbaths and the pigs have already figured. When he speaks of people turning Jews, through parental example, I cannot but think that he confounds Christians with Jews, as his countrymen were wont to do. The former, who were making many proselytes at this time, were supposed to be a sect of the latter, and even if the hatred which the Jews bore to the Christians were generally noticed, it would prove no bar to this idea being held; on the contrary, it would serve to confirm it, as the hatred existing between religious and even philosophical sects was known, then as now, often to spring from very minute differences. Cf. Sueton. Tiber. 36, where the expression *similia (Judaeis) sectantes* has been held to refer to Christians, though it is not likely that many had penetrated to Rome, at that early period. Cf. Tac. Ann. ii 85. Sueton. Domit. 12, *qui vel improfessi Judaicam viverent vitam vel, dissimulata origine, tributa non pependissent*, may not improbably have reference to Christians, and Jewish converts to Christianity; and another passage, in the same author, Claud. 25, *Judaeos, impulsore Christo, assidue tumultuantes, Roma expulit*, shows the confused notion then entertained as to the two religions. Similarly Dion tells us that besides Jews proper, others bear the name who τὰ νόμιμα αὐτῶν, καίπερ ἀλλοεθνεῖς ὄντες ζηλοῦσι, xxxvii 17; and in lxvii 14, he speaks of people being condemned, including Flavius Clemens, under Domitian, for going over to the Jews. Compare also lxviii 1. In all these cases, he probably refers to Christians, and many other examples might be given of this confusion on the part of pagan writers, during the first two centuries, *ex gr.*, Arrian (ii 9), quoted by Lipsius on Tac. Ann. xv 44, who wrote not much later than Juvenal. Sabbaths were spoken of in Satire vi, loc. cit., as *festa*. Augustus, in Suetonius, Aug. 76, seems to look upon them as fasts, which they were not, *Ne Judaeus quidem, mi Tiberi, tam diligenter Sabbatis jejunium servat, quam ego hodie servavi.* Probably all that Augustus and Juvenal knew of the matter was that the seventh day was, in some way or other, held sacred by the Jews. **96**: *metuere* and

metus are the words used for fear of the gods, *metuens divum matertera*, Pers. ii 31. *Deum metum, parentum amorem et cognatum concordiam*, Plaut. Amphit. ii 2 211, which illustrates this very clearly. So *metuunt jus*, 101 below, and *timidus Deorum*, Ov. Met. v 100. **97**: The Jews were supposed to worship the skies, probably from their religion not allowing any image of the deity, Tac. Hist. v 5, who says the same of the Germans, Germ. 9; and Strabo, accordingly, represents Moses as teaching that there was one God, ὁ καλοῦμεν οὐρανὸν καὶ κόσμον καὶ τὴν τῶν ὄντων φύσιν, xvi, p 761; so also Dion, &c. *dedita sacris Incerti Judaea Dei*, Lucan, ii 592. In the fragment of Petronius quoted on vi 160, it is said of the Jew, *Et coeli summas advocat auriculas*, which Lipsius understands, "quasi putarent coelum aures habere idque invocarent." But the allusion in *auriculas* is to the ass's head which the Jews were supposed to worship, Tac. Hist. v 3 4 (and cf. Plaut. Sympos. iv), a calumny which is refuted by Josephus, Minucius Felix and Tertullian, *Somniastis caput asininum esse Deum nostrum . . . atque ita inde praesumptum opinor, nos quoque ut Judaicae religionis propinquos eidem simulacro initiari*, Tertull. Apol. 16. Hence, the Christians, who were confounded with them, were called "asinarii:" a curious illustration of which was brought to light not many years ago in the shape of a caricature discovered at Rome, and representing the founder of Christianity on a cross with an ass's head.* **98**: vi 160. Compare with the whole of this passage the sketch which Tacitus gives of the Jews in the opening chapters of the fifth book of his History. **103**: *monstrare vias.* To point out the road to a traveller, is commonly instanced as an example of what is due from one man to another, *Praecipiemus ut naufrago manum porrigat, erranti viam monstret, cum esuriente panem suum dividat?* Sen. Epp. 95. Ennius quoted by Cic. Off. ii: and so among the precepts of Mahomet, "to put a traveller on the right road;" Bosworth Smith, "Mahometanism," p. 20. The unsoci-

* Mr. (now Dean) Merivale disputes this interpretation of the caricature, "History of the Romans," vol. vi. c. 59. However, to go into this question would altogether exceed my scope. Mr. King in his work on antique gems also refers to the subject. See Aubé, Persecutions de l'Eglise, ii. 96, for a full discussion of the matter.

able character of the ancient Jews, their hatred of strangers, and their savage inhumanity to their vanquished enemies, are well known, and have been well described by Tacitus, *misericordia in promptu, sed adversus omnes alios hostile odium . . . transgressi in morem eorum idem usurpant, nec quicquam prius imbuuntur quam contemnere Deos, exuere patriam, parentes, liberos, fratres, vilia habere.* In the latter sentence I think he has the Christians in view. It is idle to say with some that Juvenal misrepresents the Jews, or to quote Solomon, "If thine enemy be hungry, give him bread to eat; and if he be thirsty, give him water to drink." This merely shows that Solomon, like other sensible men, could at times rise superior to the creed and practices of his country.

107: All the other vices young men are willing enough to imitate; but they do not take kindly to avarice. So those who have miserly fathers are carefully trained by them to follow in the parental footsteps. **111**: And similarly *mentitur prodigus liberalem*, Sen. Epp. 120, for, as he observes, *sunt virtutibus vitia contraria.* **112**: Horace has *rerum tutela mearum* in a somewhat different sense, Epp. i 1 103; and Valer. Flacc., *rerum tutela suarum*, v 644. **114**: *Hesperidum serpens*, Ladon, killed by Hercules. *Ponticus* (*serpens*), the dragon that guarded the golden fleece. Medea put him to sleep. **117**: *sed crescunt*, "aye, they grow," xiii 213, note. It might also mean "at any rate." This is not an uncommon use of *sed*, a good example of which occurs in Plin. Epp. vii 21, where, after speaking of the weakness of his eyes, he adds, *non stilo modo, verum etiam lectionibus, difficulter, sed abstineo*, "I abstain with difficulty, still (at any rate) I do abstain." It is equivalent to *sed tamen.* **119**: *Et pater ergo*, &c., "and so the father too thinks as the people think," &c. **123**: All vices have their beginnings, their elementary practices. The avaricious father commences with these, and, by example and precept, makes his son get them up thoroughly, before instructing him in the full delights of a miser's passion for hoarding. *protinus* means here "at starting." **126**: Slaves had a certain allowance of food, generally grain, measured out to them, either monthly, *menstruum*, *epimenia*, vii 120, or daily, *diarium.* Four or five modii a

month seems to have been the usual allowance, Sen. Epp. 80. For the modius see 67 above. Here, the master starves his slaves. This is an example of the *minimae sordes*, and so is what follows. Appuleius speaks of a miser as *sordis infimae infamis homo*, Met. i 16. **127** : *sustinet*, "bear," "endure," vi 105. **130**: *Septembri*, even in September, the worst month in the year for keeping anything. Compare vi 517, and iv 59. **131–133** : For *conchem* and *sectivi porri*, cf. iii 293, where they are spoken of as the commonest kind of food. Beans would be tough in the summer. Macleane renders 133, "counts every leek of his rope and shuts them up in the cupboard," taking *fila* as ropes, just as we are in the habit of stringing onions. But *fila* means "shreds," "slices," as may be seen from Mart. xi 52, *porris fila resecta suis*, and xiii 18, *Fila Tarentini graviter redolentia porri Edisti quoties, oscula clausa dato.* In the former epigram, which is an invitation to his modest supper, we have the *lacertus* mentioned also, and *conchis* and *lacertus* are coupled by him, vii 78. It was some kind of coarse salted fish. The same poet says of a miser's arrangements, *Deque decem plures semper servantur olivae*, i 104 7. **132** : *Signatam*. According to Cicero, his mother used to seal up even empty bottles, *lagenas etiam inanes obsignabat, ne dicerentur inanes aliquae fuisse, quae furtim essent exsiccatae*, Ep. xvi 26. **134** : *aliquis de ponte*, iv 116, note, v 8. **135** : *Sed quo divitias*, viii 142, note. *Quo mihi fortunam quae numquam fallere curet*, Ov. Am. ii 19 7; Hor. Epp. i 5 12.

139 : The sentiment contained in this line might be illustrated from many authors ; *ἀνήριθμος δέ οἱ εἴη ἄργυρος· αἰεὶ δὲ πλεόνων ἔχοι ἵμερος αὐτόν*, Theocr. 16 64. *Eo majora cupimus quo majora venerunt*, Sen., de Ben. ii 27. Ovid, Horace, &c., say the same thing. Another reading is *crescit* for *crevit*, and I am not sure that this is not more in the poet's manner. But the MS. authority seems slightly in favour of *crev.* **140** : The desire for money on the part of the man who has not got any, is actually less than that felt by these rich people whose bags are full. **140, 141** : *paratur altera villa.* So *parabat culmina villarum*, 88 89. **142, 143** : *majorque . . . seges.* Juvenal may have had a passage of Ovid in his mind,

Fertilior seges est alienis semper in agris Vicinumque pecus grandius uber habet, A. A. i 348 349. **146**: *lasso collo*, "after a hard day's work at the plough, fasting and famished." Macleane thinks such a practice as is spoken of almost incredible; and Ribbeck, of course, falls foul of the passage; but a powerful landowner, who wanted to extend his boundaries, would not stick at a trifle. *Licet agros agris adjiciat, vicinum vel pretio pellat aeris vel injuria*, Sen. Epp. 90. *Quid quod usque proximos Revellis agri terminos et ultra Limites clientium Salis avarus?* Hor. Od. ii 18 23. *Vexat saepe meum Patrobas confinis agellum Contra libertum Caesaris ire times*, Mart. ii 32 3 4. Pliny, H. N. ii 68, speaks of driving away one's weaker neighbours, and enclosing the land thus seized in one's own fence, as if it were a common practice; and Appuleius introduces a story which turns upon this practice, Met. ix 201 202. Cf. also Cic. pro Milon. 26, and Long's Introd. to de Leg. Agr. Orations, vol. ii p. 390.

152: *qui sermones!* x 88 89. *foede* is the reading of P. It is quite clear that it may stand, and it seems to me better than *foedae*, instead of being "plainly an error of the copyist." *sonabit*, or some such word must be understood. The reader need hardly be reminded how common these ellipses are in our author: *Tunc etiam . . . adhuc Graece*, vi 192 193; and *omnia Graece* just before; *Alea quando Hos animos!* i 88 89, i 52, vi 641, &c.; and, curiously enough, we find this identical word twice in Cic. with an ellipse of the verb. *Marcellus foede de Comensi*, ad Att. v 11, and *Caelius . . . de pantheris foede*, ad Att. vi 1. **153–155**: *quid enim salvis infamia nummis?* i 48, is the same sentiment inverted. Money is everything with these people. "I don't value at a beanshell the approbation of the whole neighbourhood, if it is to be given me only on the condition of my owning a trumpery little farm." *Sine me vocari pessimum ut dives vocer*, as the poet has it in Senec. Epp. 115. *tunicam lupini*. So Pers., iv 30, has *tunicatum caepe*. **156**: *Scilicet* is always sarcastic in Juvenal, *Scilicet hoc fuerat propter quod saepe relicta Conjuge*, &c., v 76. *Scilicet exspectas ut tradat mater honestos . . . mores*, vi 239. *carebis*, "you will escape," x 287, vi 564. As Dr. Johnson put it, Wealth guarantees its pos-

sessor against one only of the ills of life—indigence. **159**: sqq. Compare Lucan, i 166, sqq. **160**: *Tatius*, the legendary Sabine King, under whom and Romulus, Romans and Sabines formed one united kingdom. **162**: *gladiosque Molossos.* Pyrrhus was called *regi Molosso* at xii 108. **163**: *Tandem*, "at length," after their campaigns were over. It is possible, even, that there may have been some delay in apportioning the grant, as the case is with our war-medals. Two *jugera* would be about one English acre and a quarter. **164**: *merces sanguinis*, i 42, in a less respectable sense, "the equivalent for." **169**: *magnis*, "grown up," 79 above. **173**: *causae*, "incentives," viii 84, x 139. Very common in this sense, *Quid Nomentani causam mihi perdis agelli*, "my incentive for remaining at my farm," Mart. vii 93, where some commentators have gone quite wrong. **174**: *miscere*, "to mix up in drink," &c., "to administer," i 70, v 61, viii 220, not "to compound," in which sense *componere* is used, 253. *ferro grassatur.* Tacitus has *veneno grassari*, Hist. iii 39. But, as Ribbeck remarks, *Humanae mentis vitium ferro grassatur* is a strange sort of expression. **178**: *properantis* is used like *festinare*, below 212; "making haste to be rich." **180**: The *Marsi* were of Sabine origin, iii 169. So, in all probability, were the *Hernici*, and the *Vestini*. We have already seen that, with our author, Sabine means "old-fashioned," and old-fashioned means everything that is virtuous and contented and hardy. **181**: *panem*, "bread," which is sufficient. The gods have given them corn instead of acorns, the primitive food of man, which they can now afford to despise. Compare the well-known passage at the beginning of the Georgics, *Liber et alma Ceres vestro si munere tellus Chaoniam pingui glandem mutavit arista Poculaque inventis Acheloia miscuit uvis;* and Ovid, Fast. iv 401 402, *Prima Ceres homini ad meliora alimenta vocato Mutavit glandes utiliore cibo*, cf. Juv. vi 10. **186**: *pero* was a thick country boot, Pers. v 102. Juvenal may have had a passage of Virgil in his mind, in this description, *Hunc legio late comitatur agrestis . . . quique roscida rivis Hernica saxa colunt . . . fulvosque lupi de pelle galeros Tegmen habent capiti: vestigia nuda sinistri Instituere pedis; crudus tegit altera pero*, Aen. vii 681, sqq. *summovet*, i 37,

note; and compare Lucan, ii 384, *magnique penates Summovisse hiemem tecto.* *pellibus inversis,* "skins turned inside out," that is, with the hair inside. The old Sabine people, like all primitive nations, are represented as great hunters, *Vestina juventus . . . venatu dura ferarum,* Sil. Pun. viii 517. **187**: *ignota,* "previously unknown," ix 34, note. Pliny, H. N. ix 39, says that purple had always been in use at Rome. The best purples came from Tyre, Laconia, and various parts of Africa. The word is here used for foreign luxury and corruption. *Sollicitudo nos in nostra purpura versat,* Sen. Epp. 90.

190: *Post finem autumni.* In the short, cold winter days. The Roman autumn lasted till the middle of November. Some take the meaning to be "after the holidays." But Heinrich says that these came to an end in October, a month earlier, quoting Mart. x 62, *Ferulae . . . tristes, sceptra paedagogorum Cessent et Idus dormiant in Octobres.* *media de noct.* is lit. "from and after midnight," "a partir de." **191**: *accipe.* There is force in these words "Here take!" As if the father, in his eagerness, thrust them into his son's hands. **192**: *causas age,* "plead imaginary causes," "practise speaking." *rubras majorum leges.* Inks made of *minium,* vermilion, and *rubrica,* red ochre, were used for the titles and beginnings of books, by way of ornament, as we see printing-ink of that colour similarly used for titles, capitals at the heads of chapters, &c. To this Ovid alludes, Trist. i 1 7, *Nec titulus minio nec cedro charta notetur.* From the headings of laws being written in this way, *rubrica* came to mean the civil law. Hence our word "rubric." *vitem,* "the vine-switch of the centurion," viii 247, note, *i.e.,* a centurion's commission. *Sed.* But (in addition to your petition) take care that the commander Laelius, to whom it will be referred, sees what a stalwart fellow you are. This no doubt would be a recommendation, centurions being often spoken of as big, burly fellows; *gens hircosa centurionum,* Pers. iii 77; *inter varicosos centuriones,* Id. v 189; Cic. Phil. viii 9. *magni centuriones,* Hor. Sat. i 6 73, where Orell. seems to have mistaken the sense of *magni* in rendering "viri, ut in oppidulo illo, clari atque illustres." It means "big;" see Juv. xvi 14 15. **193**: *libello* is a petition. *vitem poscere* is like *navem poscere,*

Pers. v 102, "to ask for the command of a ship." There was an officer commissioned to receive these petitions to the Emperor, *a libellis homo*, Suet. Pliny, in writing to Trajan, x 107, encloses one of these *libelli* from a centurion, and the Emperor's answer is given, 108. **196**: sqq. Spend your life in campaigning against the savages of Africa and Britain, in the extremes of heat and cold, in order that, when you come to be sixty years of age, you may be at the head of your regiment! The Brigantes were the most considerable tribe in Britain, according to Tacitus, Agric. 17. They occupied the country from the Humber to the Tyne. If the centurions, as seems probable, generally rose by seniority, promotion would necessarily be slow, and a man might have a long time to wait before becoming "centurio primi pili" (x 94, note), "in charge of the eagle." Plin., H. N. xiv 1, speaks of *lentas aquilas* in this sense; but *elatas* is the reading in some MSS.; and Seneca of *castrensium laborum tarda manupretia*, Epp. 101. *sanguine multo Promotus Latiam longo gerit ordine vitem*, Lucan, vi 145. *sexagesimus annus*, xiii 16 17, note. **199**: sqq. *trepidum solvunt tibi cornua ventrem.* A common result of the first sound of cannon in modern actions. *pluris dimidio*, "more than half as much again as it cost you;" at more than fifty per cent. profit. **202**: Trades of an offensive kind, such as tanning here, and Mart. vi 93, and cf. Mart. i 42, had to be carried on, on the other side of the Tiber. I believe a similar regulation is in force now. *lucri bonus est odor ex re Qualibet.* This probably alludes, as the commentators have pointed out, to a story told of Vespasian, *reprehendenti filio Tito quod etiam urinae vectigal commentus esset, pecuniam ex prima pensione admovit ad nares, sciscitans num odore offenderetur: et illo neganti "Atqui" inquit "e lotio est,"* Suet. Vesp. 23. **206**: *poeta*, the reading of P., and better than *poetae*, which is tame. There is a line very like 207 quoted by Senec. Epp. 115, from some tragic poet, *Non quare et unde, quid habeas tantum rogant.* *assae* are "dry-nurses." **208, 209**: are better, thrown into the preceding speech.

210: *instantem.* So *vox domini instantis* at 63, literally "pressing on with this kind of advice." **212**: *festinare*, 178, above. **215, 216**: *parc. ten.*, from Virg. Georg. ii 363.

With *nondum implerere medullas*, Macleane compares Job, xx 13, "his bones are full of the sin of his youth." **216, 217**: *cum pectere barbam*, &c. "When he has grown up to man's estate," vi 215, iii 186. Here Mr. Simcox has one of his absurd notes, "*longi*, in contrast to his baby face now." **219**: *tangens aramque pedemque. intrepidi quaecumque altaria tangunt*, xiii 89. *Immunis aram si tetigit manus*, Hor. Touching the foot of the statue, as well as the altar, is intelligible to all those who in Roman Catholic countries have seen the kisses bestowed by votaries on the feet of saints' images. **220, 221**: *limina subit.* The bride was carried over the threshold; most likely that she might not stumble on entering, which would have been a bad omen, Becker's "Gallus," sc. 1, exc. 1; or as a surviving symbol of the primitive practice of marriage by capture. "Consider your rich daughter-in-law already murdered by her husband!" is a satirical exaggeration, very common in our poet, iv 97, vi 594. Some example of a man strangling his wife for her money may have been familiar about this time. **224**: *nullus . . . labor.* A crime will confer wealth on him, without his having the trouble of crossing the seas to obtain it. **225**: *nec*, "nor even," as at 246. **228**: *producere*, vi 241. Nothing can be made of the next line, in its present place. **231**: *quem*, sc. *juvenem* or *puerum* understood. *nescit*, "is unable," as at x 360, xiii 240, v 60. The metaphor is, of course, taken from a chariot-race.

233: *tantum*, "as much only and no more." **234**: *latius* may be rendered "more freely," as in Hor. Sat. ii 2 113 114, *Integris opibus novi non latius usum Quam nunc accisis.* Statius has *non largius usquam Indulsit natura sibi*, Silv. i 3 16. **237**: *Et*, "at the same time." *spoliare*, i 46. *circumscribere*, x 222. **239**: The Decii have been spoken of at viii 254. The poet next instances Menoeceus, son of Creon, who sacrificed himself to save his country, Thebes, and goes out of his way, not very artistically, to have a fling at the Greeks. *Si Graecia vera* reminds us of *quidquid Graecia mendax Audet in historia*, x 174 175. *quorum* of the Thebans, who must be understood as included in *Thebas.* Cadmus sowed the dragon's teeth, from which armed men sprung up, who immediately

killed each other, all but five, who were ancestors of the Thebans. **246, 247**: There is an epigram in the de Spect., attributed to Martial, 10, on a lion which had turned upon his keeper and attacked him, which the commentators suppose to be the particular incident which suggested this comparison to the poet. It may be so.

248: *Nota mathematicis genesis tua.* It is all very well to say that the astrologers have calculated your nativity and predict a long life for you. But your son won't wait for the natural course of events. Ruperti takes it, "Your son has consulted the astrologers on the subject of your nativity." They may have promised the old man's death, iii 43 44. Comp. Ov. Met. i 148. *funus promittere patris Nec volo nec possum.* I cannot see, with Macleane, that the latter "does not represent the sense or the grammar" of the original, but the former is perhaps better. Statius speaks of a son who thinks his father's life too short, as a marvel, *celeres genitoris filius annos (Mira fides!) pigrasque putat properasse sorores*, Silv. iii 3 20. **251**: *cervina senectus.* Pliny, H. N. vii 48, quotes Hesiod as giving a crow (Juv. x 247) nine times the length of life of man, and a stag four times that of a crow, while a raven was to a stag as three to one. These statements are not found in the extant Hesiod. Ausonius, Idyll. 18, says the same thing, with additions. Hence the stag is called *vivax* in the poets. **252**: *Archigenen*, the doctor, vi 236. Mithridates' antidote we had at the end of the same Satire. **253**: *aliam decerpere ficum*, &c., means to see another autumn, or even another spring, *i.e.*, a fresh year, or even a small part of it. Mr. Simcox says, "Lest you should be poisoned in these innocent things," but this seems far-fetched.

256: sqq. The poet says, I will show you an amusement better than any play, if you will just observe these fellows and the dangers they encounter in making money. Compare *quae comoedia mimus Quis melior plorante gula*, v 167 168. **257**: *Praetoris pulpita*, viii 194 and iii 174. **260**: *Fiscus*, at iv 55, meant the emperor's privy purse; here, any treasure. Originally, a basket, *mulus ferebat fiscos cum pecunia*, Phaedr. ii 7. *Castora*, the temple of Castor, as *Cererem*, ix 24. The temple of Castor and Pollux was in the Forum Romanum,

and the bankers, it seems, used to deposit there their customers' cash-boxes for safety. It was conveniently near their *tabernaei. Sub veteribus (tabernis) ibi sunt qui dant quique accipiunt foenori Pone aedem Castoris ibi sunt . . . qui ipsi sese venditant,* Plaut. Curc. iv 1 19 20. Cic. pro Pub. Quint. 4. This passage of Juvenal would seem to imply that the temple of Mars Ultor had been the favourite place of deposit, till the robbery mentioned in the text. **262, 263**: At the Floralia, vi 250, the Megalesia, vi 69, xi 193, and the Cerealia, plays were acted. The latter festival was held in April. **264**: *petauro,* a stage-machine, the exact nature of which is not known. The commentators quote a passage from Manilius, which gives the notion of a kind of see-saw. See Dict. G. and R. Ant. "Petaurum." The word itself πέταυρον, πέδαυρον, πέτευρον, and doubtless the thing itself, and the performers on it, were all Greek. The *petauristarii* at Trimalchio's supper are exactly our "acrobats," Petron. 53. **265**: The dancers on the tight-rope were σχοινοβάται, which we had, in its Latin form, at iii 77. **266**: *Corycus* was a promontory of Cilicia, near which was the "Corycian cave," mentioned by Strabo, xiv 5, as growing the best saffron. Pliny mentions it too, H. N. v 27, and praises the crocus (saffron) in another place. It was largely imported into Rome. *Corycia* must be applied to the ship, from the owner constantly trading to those parts. Cilicia was, however, famous for its forests and ship-timber, and Strabo, immediately after noticing the cave as above, speaks of the country as "supplying timber for ship-building." **267**: *Coro,* x 180. *tollendus* is opposed to *ancipiti figens vestigia planta,* below, as *mercator* to *illa mercede.* **271**: *Passum,* "raisin-wine," Dict. G. and R. Ant. "Vinum." Martial speaks of the *passum* of Crete. *Gnossia Minoae genuit vindemia Cretae Hoc tibi, quod mulsum pauperis esse solet,* xiii 106, and Pliny says it was the most prized, H. N. xiv 9. *municipes Jovis lagenas.* They came from the same country as Jove. So *municipes (Crispini) siluros,* iv 33, *municipes Cadmi lacernas,* Mart. x 87. The legend represented Jupiter as being hidden from his father by Rhea his mother in a cave of Ida in Crete, Juv. xiii 41. The Cretans indeed made out that their country was the birth-place and the burial-place of Jove. It is when

rebuking them for this that Callimachus uses the words Κρῆτες ἀεὶ ψεῦσται, quoted by St. Paul.

272: *Hic* is the rope-dancer, whom he opposes to the merchant. The former exposes himself to peril to avoid starvation. This dancing on the tight-rope must have appeared more dangerous than it really was, *Vides qui per funem in summa nituntur quantos soleant excitare clamores, cum jam jamque casuri videntur*, Plin. Epp. ix 26. It was a favourite spectacle with the Romans. Terence complains that one of these exhibitions drew off the audience from the first representation of his "Hecyra," *Ut neque spectari neque cognosci potuerit Ita populus studio stupidus in funambulo Animum occuparat*, Prol. Hecyr. *ancipiti figens vestigia planta* reminds one of the women on shipboard, *nec tremulis possunt insistere plantis*, vi 96. **273**: *illa mercede.* Comp. Sen. de Ira. ii 13, *tam pertinacis studii non digna merces fuit.* His exhibitions are the wares which he offers in exchange for his bread and cheese. **274, 275**: *mille* and *centum* are used for a large number. **276, 277**: *plus hominum est jam in pelago* is a turn of expression very closely resembling *Maximus in vinclis ferri modus*, iii 310, and the resemblance should be noticed by those who are interested in Ribbeck's theory. **277, 278**: *Fortuna insidias pontum substravit avaris*, Propert. iii 7 37. **278**: *transiliet. Non tangenda rates transiliunt vada*, Hor. Od. i 3 24. *Calpe.* The modern Gibraltar, one of the two pillars of Hercules (Abyla was the other). Here the sun, in old times, was supposed to set in the Western waters. **283**: *Oceani monstra.* Superstition has always peopled the sea with monsters of various kinds, and sea-serpents and mermaids are still believed in. Horace speaks of *monstra natantia*, Od. i 3; and Tac. Ann. ii 24, of those who *miracula narrabant . . . monstra maris, ambiguas hominum et belluarum formas*, cf. Plin. H. N. ix 5. *juvenes marinos.* Probably the Tritons, or mermen, and Nereids, are meant (the latter being attached to the Mediterranean sea in particular), the Oceanides, &c. *vidisse* depends on *possis.* **284**: *Ille.* Orestes. *Hic.* Ajax, who in his insanity mistook the herds and flocks of the Greeks for his personal enemies. *Ithacum.* Ulysses. **287**: *parcat . . . lacernis.* Though he may not tear them like some

lunatics. **288** : *curatoris. Nec medici credis (me) nec curatoris egere A praetore dati*, Hor. Epp. i 1 102 103; and Sat. ii 3 217 218. He was a guardian appointed by the praetor for an insane person, and chosen by him from among the relatives in the male line (*agnati*). The words of the law were, *Si furiosus escit (erit) agnatorum in eo pecuniaque ejus potestas esto.* The idea that a man who loaded his ship with merchandise and sought to make money of it, despising the perils of the deep, was no better than a madman, would not find favour with modern political economists, any more than a variety of other passages in our author. Compare a passage in Sueton. Vesp. 16, where he speaks of buying up goods and selling them at a profit being disgraceful even for a private individual. Economists will also notice another curious passage at the end of c. 18, where the Emperor refuses to employ a machine on the old (but not defunct) plea, that it will be injurious to labour. Juvenal's horror of the sea breaks out here, and notwithstanding the *plus hominum est jam in pelago*, 276, it was shared by most of his countrymen; compare Prop. iii 7, and a host of similar passages. To them, it was indeed the *triste profundi imperium.* To be parted from the sea by the ship's sides, 289, xii 58, was *malum*, "a serious ill." I think there is very strong reason to conjecture that Juvenal had made a sea-voyage. **290** : *causa*, "the incentive," x 139, viii 84, &c. **291** : a periphrasis for money, coins. *minutas* is a participle, as at xiii 189. **293**: Pepper would be imported from India by way of Syria, cf. viii 160. Pliny speaks with astonishment about the favour with which pepper was viewed, and asks who ever could have first tried it as an article of food. Corn would come from Sicily, Africa, &c. **297** : *zonam*, because it held his purse. So Phaedrus, of a shipwreck, *Hi zonas, illi res pretiosas colligunt*, iv 21. So at viii 120, we have *Cum tenues nuper Marius discinxerit Afros, i.e.*, robbed them. Plautus calls a cut-purse *sector zonarius.* **299** : *Tagus*, iii 55. *Pactolus*, a small river of Lydia, was supposed to roll particles of gold-dust in its mud, like the Tagus, with which it is coupled here, the Po, the Ganges, and the Hebrus in Thrace, Plin. H. N. xxxiii 4. The poor wretch will have to go about begging alms, carrying a picture of the shipwreck to excite compas-

sion, Pers. i 89, vi 32, and Phaedr. in the above-quoted fable, *Ceteri tabulam suam Portant, rogantes victum.* "Shipwrecked mariners," with pictures of this kind, are still to be seen.

303: sqq. *Crescentem sequitur cura pecuniam,* Hor. Od. iii 16 17. **304**: is an almost literal verse rendering of Seneca, *ipsa magnae felicitatis tutela solicita est;* Cons. ad Polyb. 28. **305**: At x 16 we had Seneca spoken of as *praedives.* I have rendered it here by "millionnaire," which has come, in our language, to signify simply "enormously wealthy." *hamae* were leathern water-buckets. We sometimes see water-buckets (of wood) hung up, in the same way, in old-fashioned banks, inns, &c. *nullus umquam in publico sipho, nulla hama, nullum denique instrumentum ad incendia compescenda,* Pliny to Trajan, Epp. x 42. Licinus, i 109, who is put for any rich man, is in such a fright about his costly effects being burnt, that he posts a whole regiment of slaves to keep watch over them by night, with the water-buckets all in order. For the Phrygian marble, see above 89 90. **308**: *dolia,* the tub of Diogenes. It would not take fire, because it was made of clay. The story of Alexander's conversation with Diogenes is well known. *dolia nudi non ardent Cynici* is a sentiment akin to *Cantabit vacuus coram latrone viator—rarus venit in coenacula miles,* &c., "Poverty is free from the cares which beset the rich," which Lucian has worked out in one of his dialogues. Some take *nudi* here to mean "wearing no tunic," xiii 122, and note. **311**: *testa in illa,* "in that famous tub." **313**: *qui totum sibi posceret orbem,* x 168. **314**: *Passurus,* &c., "on the condition of undergoing," x 97 98 note. **315**: see x 365. **319**: For Epicurus and his garden, cf. xiii 122 123. **322**: sqq. "If you think I am too hard upon you, in asking you to conform to the examples of such self-denying sages as Epicurus and Socrates, let us make some allowances for our altered times and manners, let us go as far as the amount which was fixed for a knight's census by the law of Otho, four hundred sestertia (= four hundred thousand sesterces). If that won't satisfy you, take a couple of knights' fees and add a third four hundred sestertia, *i.e.*, make up twelve hundred sestertia (twelve hundred thousand sesterces), a Senator's census. If that won't do, why then, nothing in the world will content you." Our poet may here have had in mind some

lines of Lucilius, which have come down to us, *Nam si quod satis est homini, id satis esse potisset Hoc sat erat, nunc cum hoc non est, qui credimu' porro Divitias ullas animum mi explere potisse?* Fr. v 2. "The fourteen rows" were the front rows in the theatre on which the knights were privileged to sit, cf. iii 154 and 159. **322** : *acribus* is "severe," ii 77. *exemplis*, "patterns for imitation," xiii 1. **325**: *rugam trahere*, "to wrinkle your brow," *i.e.*, to displease you, xiii 215 216. *vis tu remittere aliquid ex rugis?* Plin. Epp. ix 17. *ducere vultum, contrahere frontem*, are similar phrases. Mr. Pretor, on Pers. vi 79, where *ruga* means "a purse," seems to think it may have the same meaning here, which, to me, is quite inconceivable, though this interpretation has the authority of Casaubon and Koenig. Professor Conington, whose posthumous edition of Persius has only just been given to the world (*Dec.* 1872), in a note on the passage, says "*rugam trahit* in the imitation by Juv. xiv 325, looks as if he had misunderstood the meaning here to be 'makes you frown dissatisfaction.'" I should hardly think this likely; or that the introduction of the same word into the two passages, is more than an accident. Professor Conington, in his excellent notes, often refers to difficult passages of Juvenal, *ex gr.*, Juv. i 93, on Pers. i 54; J. v 155, on P. iii 77; J. vii 111 on P. ii 33, as far as I understand, endorsing Mr. Mayor's interpretations of them, which I believe to be, in every case, wrong. **327**: *si panditur ultra, i.e.*, "for more." **329**: *Narcissus* was a freedman of Claudius, by whose orders Messalina was put to death after her marriage with Silius in the Emperor's lifetime, x 329–345. His great wealth is spoken of by Dio lx 34, and by Plin., H. N. xxxii 10; who mentions him after Crassus, to whom he assigns about £1,600,000 in landed property. But these figures are no more to be depended on than the numbers of the slaughtered in the ancient battles. On the great influence gained over the Roman Emperors by their freedmen, cf. Friedländer, who, in the first volume of his "Roman Manners from Augustus to the Antonines," has treated the subject exhaustively, after the fashion of his countrymen. Cf. Plin. Paneg. c. 88; and for the expression *paruit imperiis*, comp. Plin. Epp. viii 6. *Imaginare Caesarem liberti precibus, vel potius imperio . . . obtemperantem.*

INTRODUCTION TO SATIRE XV.

THIS Satire is directed against the Egyptians. The poet, after expressing his contempt for their superstitions, relates an event which recently occurred in their country. The Ombites were celebrating a festival, when their neighbours, the Tentyrites, surprised them, and, being victorious in the encounter, cut to pieces the only one of the enemy who fell into their hands, and ate him raw.

The poet says that instances have occurred before this of men eating each other, but that has been under compulsion, as in the case of besieged cities. These Egyptians surpass in ferocity the most savage tribes. Some very beautiful reflections on the origin of civil society, and a contrast drawn between man and the lower animals, very much in favour of the latter, conclude the Satire.

Line 27 (like xiii 17) furnishes a crucial date for this Satire and its author. Unfortunately we cannot fix it with certainty. 119 A.D. is, I think, the date of the event referred to, which would bring this Satire to about the same period as xiii.

NOTES TO SATIRE XV.

1: Who this Volusius the Bithynian was, is unknown. Martial has several epigrams addressed to one whom he calls *Bithynice.* Animal-worship, as is well known, was prevalent in Egypt. *Aegyptiorum morem quis ignorat? Quorum imbutae mentes pravitatis erroribus, quamvis carnificinam prius subierint, quam ibim aut aspidem aut felem aut canem aut crocodilum violent,* &c., Cic. Tusc. Q., v 27; Stat. Silv. iii 2 113, &c. Certain animals, such as the ox, dog, cat, ibis, &c., seem to have been generally held sacred, while, with regard to others, *ex. gr.*, the crocodile (Herod. ii 69), different practices prevailed among the various nomes, or cantons, into which the Nile-valley was divided. **2**: *crocodilon.* The poet uses the Greek form here. **4**: *cercopitheci.* A long-tailed ape, κέρκος, πίθηκος. *Callidus emissas eludere simius hastas Si mihi cauda foret, circopithecus eram,* Mart. xiv 202. Every one knows the story of the statue of Memnon and the sounds which it gave forth, Dict. G. and R. Myth. "Memnon." For Thebes and its hundred gates, cf. xiii 27. **7**: *aeluros,* "cats," from the Greek αἴλουρος, is a suggestion for *caeruleos,* the common reading, which has been adopted by most editors. The latter would mean "fish of the sea." I do not think it any objection to *caeruleos,* that it is uncertain whether the Egyptians worshipped the fish of the sea; for we need not suppose it necessary for Juvenal to have had a more intimate acquaintance with their superstitions than with those of the Jews. On the other hand, if they did not worship sea-fish (as seems likely), the poet may have known this, and *piscem fluminis* would have a distinct meaning—an answer to the objection of Mr. Prior (who reads *caeruleos*), that "some opposition to *piscem fluminis* seems required." P. has here *aeruleos. aeluros* would be very likely not to be understood, and to get corrected. One MS. has *pisces* with *caeruleos.* I do

not think that this is a case for dogmatising. **13**: The meaning is when Ulysses was relating his wonderful adventures to Alcinous, King of Phaeacia (Hom. Od. ix). very likely he had moved some of the company to wrath, or made them laugh when he had begun to talk about Laestrygones and Cyclopes, who fed on human flesh. "Won't some one pitch this fellow into the sea," we can imagine one of the guests saying, "with his inventions about huge man-eaters? I could sooner swallow the stories about Scylla, Circe, &c., than believe in such an abomination as this. He must think us mad." In short, such a monstrosity would not have been believed even in the days of Ulysses. Well, I will tell you what took place, in open day, quite recently, in the consulship of Junius, among these same Egyptians. I will relate a piece of cannibalism which was the work, not of an individual, but of a whole people. **14**: *super coenam.* As in the case of Ulysses, dinner-time, with the wine flowing, would be the natural occasion for producing wonderful stories. Pliny tells a story of a wonderful dolphin which he heard at a dinner-party, where all sorts of prodigies were related, *Incidi autem dum, super coenam, varia miracula hinc inde referuntur*, Epp. ix 33. **16**: *aretalogi*, whatever they were, were introduced by Augustus at his dinners, Suet. Aug. 74; cf. Forcellini and Casaubon's note quoted there. They seem to have been a kind of mock-philosophers, who doubtless improvised burlesque discussions on such themes as virtue, &c., and invented stories in illustration of them, for the amusement of their patrons. In putting what follows into the mouth of one of the guests, the poet exaggerates, as he often does; his indignation against the Egyptians causes him to overshoot the mark. Cannibalism has not at any time been so rare and unheard-of a practice as he would imply. And if we realise for a moment such a scene as the supper of Alcinous, we may be sure that the stories about Laestrygones and Cyclopes would not have appeared to the guests at all more wonderful than the rest of Ulysses' narrative. To a modern audience, they would form the least wonderful part of the tale, as being the one most likely to have a background of truth. Cf. Pliny, H. N. vii 2, who exhibits none of the incredulity of

the Phaeacian in the text. **19**: The stories of Scylla and Charybdis, of the skins full of foul winds which Aeolus gave to Ulysses, and which the companions of the latter opened, thereby causing a tempest, and of Circe turning the men into pigs, are probably familiar to all. *concurrentia saxa Cyaneas* (another reading is *Cyanea*) are the Symplegades, Κυανέαι, Herod. iv 85; Eurip. Med. 2, rocks at the entrance of the Bosphorus. Ulysses is not represented as having visited them, and the poet seems to have confounded them with some other rocks in the Sicilian Sea, which Circe recommended Ulysses to avoid. **24**: *minimum* is taken adverbially by Macleane, but it seems more simple to take it as a substantive in agreement with *temetum*. The latter is an old word for wine, whence *temulentus*, &c. **25**: *Corcyraea*. The Homeric island Scheria, the seat of the Phaeacians, was identified in later times with Corcyra (Corfu). *urna*, vi 426, xii 44. *canebat*, probably of measured utterance, as Virg. Aen. iv 14, &c. **27**: *Consule Junio*. This must be either (1) Appius Junius Sabinus, consul, A.D. 84, in the reign of Domitian, or (2) Q. Junius Rusticus, consul, A.D. 119, with Hadrian. The latter seems almost certainly to be the man. P. reads Junco, which Jahn, Hermann, and Ribbeck adopt. But there was no *Juncus* consul till A.D. 182, when, supposing our poet to be the *facundus Juvenalis* of Martial (of which there can hardly be a doubt), he must have been, if alive, considerably over a hundred years of age. **28**: *Coptos* (Kouft), on the right bank of the Nile, about a mile from the river, and ten miles N. of Thebes. It was a considerable commercial entrepôt in the time of our author, the Roman imports from India and the East being very large. Plin., H. N. vi 23, traces the route thence to Berenice (Cosseir) on the Red Sea, with which it communicated. **30**: *a Pyrrha*, "from the beginning of the world," i 84. *syrmata*, literally "tragic trains," viii 229. **33**: *Solito inter accolas odio, infensa Judaeis Arabum manus*, Tac. Hist. v 1.

35: *Ombos* is the reading of P. The difficulty is that Ombi was about a hundred miles south of Tentyra, with Thebes between them, and the two can scarcely be called *finitimi*. We may, however, very well suppose that the poet,

even if he had been at some time of his life in Egypt, did not exactly recollect the position of all the towns on the Nile. News reached him, it may be, of an occurrence in Egypt, such as is afterwards described, and thinking it a good subject, he proceeded to versify it, seasoning it with moral reflections, after his manner. The people of Tentyra, as we learn from Strabo xvii 1 19, differed from the rest of the Egyptians, in their hatred of the crocodile, cf. Plin., H. N. viii 25. On the other hand, the Ombites were celebrated for their devotion to it. Mummies of crocodiles are, it is said, still found in the adjacent catacombs, and the Roman coins of the Ombite nome exhibit its effigy and that of the crocodile-headed god, Sevak. Dict. G. and R. Geog. Juvenal may have known this much and named his two parties to the fight accordingly. **38**: *sed* here, and again at 51 and 87 may be rendered by our "however." **43**: *Pervigili toro*, "lying there all night," as *pervigiles popinas*, viii 158, *vigiles fenestrae*, iii 275, "open all night." Appuleius, in speaking of a miller's shop, where the work went on all night long, has *lucubrabant pervigilem farinam*, Met. ix 183. **44–46**: Martial gives Egypt a bad character, *Nequitias tellus scit dare nulla magis*, iv 42, and other poets repeatedly; *ventosa et insolens natio*, Plin. Paneg. 31, and cf. Tac. Hist. i 11. **45**: *quantum ipse notavi* is the particular expression on the strength of which Juvenal is held to have visited Egypt, and perhaps the foundation of this story in the life ascribed to Suetonius. **46**: *Canopo*. Ribbeck cites this passage as evidence that Juvenal did not write this Satire. The writer, he says, contrasts *Aegyptus* with *Canopus*, and does not seem to know that the latter was in Egypt. Whereas the "real Juvenal" did know the fact, as appears from i 26 and vi 83 84. But, as Macleane observes, "It was no contradiction to speak of the barbarians, as he calls them, of Upper Egypt not yielding to Canopus in profligacy. Canopus was at this time full of Romans and other foreigners, and the habits of that place would not represent those of the Egyptians in general." Strabo speaks of its dissolute manners, xvii p 800, and the crowd of people who resorted to its festivals and their licentiousness, and Stat. Silv. iii 2

111. **51, 52**: *jurgia . . . rixae. Jurgia primum, mox rixa,* Tac. Hist. i 64. We had *Jurgia proludunt* at v 26. **54**: *Saevit nuda manus. saeviente dextra,* Appul. Met. i 5, *palmulis saevientibus,* Id. viii 159, *saevite manus,* Senec. Troad. 113. **57**: *Dimidios,* "mutilated," as 5 above, viii 4. *alias facies. alius* is common in this sense, *vos quoque, quorum alia nunc ora, alia pectora contueor,* Tac. Ann. i 43, and so *alter. Dices heu quoties te speculo videris alterum,* Hor. Od. iv 10 6. **62**: *quo,* &c., viii 9, note. **63**: *per humum* had better be taken with *inclinatis lacertis.* Their arms were bent, inclined along the ground in search of stones. **65**: *hunc lapidem* is like *testa illa,* xiv 311, "that noted stone." **65, 66**: Ajax and Diomed throw large stones in the Iliad; the latter hits Aeneas with one which two men in Homer's day could not have lifted, Il. v 303, sqq. But it would have taken twelve men of Virgil's day to lift the stone which Turnus throws, Aen. xii 899, so much more feeble had men become. "There were giants in those days," is a common and a baseless superstition: the truth is, without doubt, the other way. **69**: *genus hoc* is that class of heroes, such as Turnus, Ajax, &c., who could throw such big stones. *descrescebat* might mean that the race was growing more feeble, or that it was diminishing in number, *Decrevere greges dum cadit agna frequens,* Mart. vii 54. The former is the sense here. The next line is like Lucret. ii 1151, *Jamque adeo fracta est aetas effetaque tellus Vix animalia parva creat.* Aul. Gell. says, iii 10, *quasi mundo senescente rerum atque hominum decrementa sunt,* the same complaint.

75: *Terga . . . palmae.* The whole of the Ombites take to flight, the Tentyrites pursue. **80**: *corrosis ossibus,* as we say, "bones and all." **82**: *usque adeo,* iii 84, &c. **84**: Fire, as is well known, was considered from the earliest times a sacred element. And though Gifford on this passage, says, "The Romans cared little for it," yet abundant traces of the honour in which it had been originally held are to be found in their rites, *ex. gr.,* the Vestal fire, the reception of the bride by the bridegroom with fire and water, and many others. **87**: sqq. When once people take to eating human flesh (like these Egyptians), it would seem there is nothing like it. Not only the first man who had a taste of the body, but

the very last, who came in for a few drops of the blood, was delighted. *sustinuit* and *edit* are aorists. **87**: *cadaver.* Ribbeck objects here, that all flesh which we eat comes from a *cadaver.* No doubt the word is applied to all dead bodies, yet, I think, more frequently to the corpses of men. "corpus animalis mortuum, et nondum sepultum, *sed praecipue hominis,*" Forcell. If in a similar passage in English the word "carcase" (which is, at least, as general) were used, every one would understand what was meant, "He who has once tasted a carcase," &c. (I find that at iii 260, I have myself translated *cadaver* by "carcase." Again at viii 252, *cadaver* must be taken for a human body, to the exclusion of that of such an animal as the ox or horse, which is much larger. See the passage.) **88**: *sustinuit,* "could stand tasting," as we should say. *quid vidit propter quod ludia dici Sustinuit?* vi 104 105, xiv 127. **91**: *stetit* seems to imply that he stood still, not knowing what to do. The body was all gone. So he draws his fingers along the earth, covered with blood, and licks them.

93: The Vascones (whose name has been preserved in the modern word "Basques") were a people in what is now Navarre. One of their cities Calagurris (Calahorra) was the last that held out in the cause of Sertorius. Rather than yield to the forces of Pompey, when their provisions had run out, they killed their wives and children, and salted them for use, *infelices cadaverum reliquias salire non dubitavit,* Valer. Max. viii 6, ext. 3, who takes a harsher view of their conduct than Juvenal, calling it *exsecrabilis impietas.* Sallust probably refers to the same story in one of his fragments, Bk. iii, *Parte consumpta, reliqua cadaverum ad diuturnitatem usu sallerent.* Florus, iii 22, says, *Tu fame nihil non experta Calagurris.* And Tacitus writes of men in a like situation: *Absumptis jumentis equisque et ceteris animalibus, quae profana foedaque in usum necessitas vertit,* Hist. iv 60. **98**: *sicut* is here certainly awkward, as Francke and Ribbeck have remarked. It must be for *siquidem.* In the latter's remark that at 95 *est* should be *fuit,* I see no force. **104**: *Viribus* is the reading of all the best MSS. There seems no reason for changing it to *ventribus.* It means, strong men, as *opibus* at iii 235 and ix 100 means

rich men. **107**: *Zeno*, the founder of the Stoics. **107**: *poterant* is here equivalent to the subjunctive. These two moods are constantly interchanged, *ex. gr.*, Tac. Hist. v 26, Virg. Aen. ii 55, where Forbiger has collected several notes, in which scholars have attempted to establish a difference in the shades of meaning. **108**: *Cantaber*, this term was loosely applied to the inhabitants all along the north coast of Spain. The *Cantabri*, properly speaking, were west of the *Vascones*, in the present Asturias. **109**: *Metellus* is Q. Metellus Pius, who fought against Sertorius in Spain. As he only died about 62 or 63 B.C., he could scarcely be called "ancient" in Juvenal's time. But, "Everything was antiquated that was before the time of the Empire;" *ex. gr.*, Seneca uses *antiquus* of Cicero, Epp. 108, and of the time of Sulla: de Ira. iii 18, and Aulus Gellius (who probably wrote about A.D. 150) speaks of a copy of the second book of the Aeneid as *mirandae vetustatis*, "of marvellous antiquity," which was indeed believed to have belonged to Virgil himself, *i.e.*, to be less than two hundred years old. Even in Caesar's time, *antiquus* was used very loosely, Bell. Gall. i 45. There is, therefore, nothing in Ribbeck's criticism of this passage, founded on the antiquity ascribed to Metellus. **110**: The whole world has the civilisation of Greece and our own. He calls Rome *nostrae Athenae*. Valerius Maximus uses *Athenae* in the same way, *Quas Athenas, quam scholam quae alienigena studia huic domesticae disciplinae praetulerim?* ii 1 10. **110–112**: are a digression, after the poet's manner. **111**: cf. vii 148. Quintilian speaks of Gaul as a place where eloquence flourished, Inst. Or. x 3. **112**: is, of course, said in jest. *Thule*. What was meant by this is uncertain, whether Iceland, or one of the Shetlands, or Norway.

114: *Saguntus* (more commonly *Saguntum*), another Spanish town, memorable for its resistance to Hannibal. All the adult males were put to the sword, Livy, xxi 14 15. **115**: Diana (*illa Taurica*) had an altar on the Tauric Chersonese, now the Crimea, on which shipwrecked strangers were sacrificed. All the people about the Palus Maeotis, or Sea of Azov (iv 42), were called Maeotae. **117**: *carmina*, *ex. gr.*, "Iphigenia in Tauris" of Euripides. **119**: *quis modo*

casus. I take *modo* here to mean "only," "even." What mischance even drove them on? There was no famine, or siege to impel them, of course; but what was there? Nothing but their own barbarism. **123**: *invidiam facere alicui* generally means "to render any one odious." Forcell. gives several examples, to which may be added Petron. 107, where other examples are given in Burmann's edition. The sense here, then, *might* be "to throw odium upon the Nile for refusing to rise." Compare Tac. Hist. ii 68, and iii 39, where *augere invidiam, ferre invidiam* are so used. But the most likely sense is "to offer an insult to;" compare Aul. Gell. iv 10, where *hac invidia facta* means "this insult having been offered;" and Ovid, Met. iv 547, *Invidiam fecere Deae; convicia Juno Non tulit,* where certainly this is the meaning; Lucan, ii 36. Quint. Declam. 10, *invidiam facere morti* Treb. Poll. Galbin. 15. He contrasts with the effeminate Egyptians various savage nations, who would not have gone to such lengths; the *Cimbri,* viii 249; the *Britones,* by whom he seems to mean the Britons, whose human sacrifices were well known, Tac. Ann. xiv 30—Jerome (quoted by Orell. ad. Hor. Od. ii 4 33) says they lived on human flesh—the *Sauromatae,* ii 1; and the *Agathyrsi,* a people whom Herodotus places in the modern Transylvania. **127, 128**: Juvenal has in view Virgil, Georg. iv 287, *Nam qua Pellaei gens fortunata Canopi Accolit effuso stagnantem flumine Nilum Et circum pictis vehitur sua rura phaselis.* Strabo says that the canals in the Delta were navigated with such ease, ὥστε καὶ ὀστράκινα ἐνίοις εἶναι πορθμεῖα, some even use earthenware ferry-boats, xvii p. 788. This is what Juvenal means by *fictilibus phaselis.* **130, 131**: *in quorum . . . fames.* The meaning seems to be "in whose minds anger and hunger produce the same results." To say that they are angry with a man is to say that they long to eat him. Compare 169, sqq. It is generally taken to mean that in their case anger produced the same results as hunger did in the case of the Vascones, &c.

135: *Squaloremque rei.* It was the custom of those who were accused in a court of justice to appear in a squalid plight to excite the pity of the judges. Hence *squalidus,* "an accused person," Tac. Hist. ii 60. *est moris reis submittere capillum,*

Plin., Epp. vii 27, where he tells a curious story of a dream, illustrative of this practice. *demissos lugentis in ore capillos*, Ov. Her. x 137; Aul. Gell. iii 4. The prosecutor, from a similar motive, often did the same, *ex. gr.*, Cicero in Verr., *aspicite squalorem sociorum.* It was partly owing to his not complying with this custom that Milo, Cicero's client, was convicted, according to Plut. Cic. 35. **137**: *faciunt incerta* may be merely poetical for "to obscure," as *luna incerta* is often used for *luna nubibus involuta.* So here *ora incerta, i.e., capillis involuta*, or, it might mean "render the sex uncertain," Ov. Met. viii 322 323. **139, 140**: *infans . . . minor igne rogi*, "too small to be burnt," is an expression like *lectus Procula minor*, iii 203; cf. iv 66; *voce meliora*, "things too sacred to be uttered," Appul.; *minor Domino* (of Domitian's palace), used by Martial and Statius, "too small for the lord of the earth," &c. *onera ferente majora.* Sen. de Ir. An. 5. Pliny, H. N. vii 16, says it was the custom not to burn (but to bury) the bodies of infants who died before cutting their teeth; or before they were forty days old, according to others. Their burial-place was called *Suggrundarium.* **140, 141**: *bonus . . . sacerdos.* The allusion is to the torches which were carried on the fifth day of the greater Eleusinian mysteries. **142**: *ulla aliena*, &c. The commentators quote the well-known *Homo sum, humani nihil a me alienum puto*, of Terence. **144**: *venerabili*, "reverential," Macleane. I think he is right. Adverbs in "bilis" often have an active sense. *Flebilis Ino* Hor. *venerabilia erga Deos verba*, Valer. Max. ii 4; cf. Forcellini. **144**: *capaces*, "capable of containing, receiving divine things," *mentisque capacius altae;* Ov. xii 44, xi 41, not "capable of divine things," which gives a different sense. **148**: *prona. Pronaque cum spectent animalia cetera terram*, Ov. Met. i 84; and Sallust. of animals, *prona et ventri obedientia*, Bell. Cat. 1; Cicero, de Leg. 1, says, *Natura, cum ceteros animantes abjecisset ad pastum, solum hominem erexit et ad coeli, quasi cognationis domiciliique pristini conspectum excitavit.* Socrates had said nearly the same thing before; and the Christian fathers borrowed the idea, *Idcirco illis (animalibus) angustum pectus . . . et ad terram versus subjectum; homini autem patens et rectum quia plenum rationis a coelo datum*, &c., Lactant.,

de Opif. Dei. **149**: Seneca distinguishes between *animus* and *anima*. *Animum perducere ad contemptionem animae*, Epp. 4, and again in Epp. 58; and Lucretius, at some length, Bk. iii. **151**: sqq. Compare with this Lucret. v 1018, *Tunc et amicitiam coeperunt jungere aventes Finitimi inter se nec laedere nec violare*, &c.; and Cic. de Invent. i 2. *dispersos homines in agris . . . compulit unum in locum et congregavit*, &c., pro Cestio. 42. **160**: sqq. Compare Hor. Epod. 7 11 12, *Neque hic lupis mos nec fuit leonibus Numquam, nisi in dispar feris.* Juvenal seems to have taken his natural history from Pliny, *Leonum feritas inter se non dimicat, serpentum morsus non petit serpentes, ne maris quidem belluae ac pisces nisi in diversa genera saeviunt. At Hercule homini plurima ex homine sunt mala*, H. N. vii, Proem.; or from Seneca, whose ninety-fifth epistle he had certainly read, *Non pudet homines, mitissimum genus, gaudere sanguine alterno, bella gerere gerendaque liberis tradere, cum inter se etiam mutis ac feris pax sit?* and de Ira. ii 8. M. Seneca, in Controv. ii 9, *neque feris inter se bella sunt.* **163**: *tigris, tigride* = tiger, as well as tigress, the form being (in the poets) feminine. *cogn. mac.*, a picturesque expression. Meinertz Vind. Juv. p. 32, thinks it impossible that any one can take this otherwise than *fera, similis maculis, parcit cognatis*: *mac.* being the descript. ablat. But this is very tame. **165**: sqq. Man is not satisfied nowadays with forging swords (considering that the old smiths did not know how to make them), but, besides killing people, some nations go so far as to eat them. I put a semicolon after *fabri*, and take *cum rastra . . . fabri* as a digression. The idea here conveyed is a very old one. It was in the age of brass, says Aratus, that men, first κακόεργον ἐχαλκεύσαντο μάχαιραν. **173**: *Pythagoras*, Hor. Sat. ii 6 63; Id. Epp. i 12 21. The story of his abstaining from beans is probably a fable, Aul. Gell. iv 11; but Juvenal, here as elsewhere, follows the common tradition.

INTRODUCTION TO SATIRE XVI.

A FRAGMENT on military life. Such are its advantages over the life of the civilian, the poet says, that he almost feels inclined to enlist in the army. Soldiers may assault their fellow-citizens with impunity; and if the latter seek redress from the officers, they only go from the frying-pan into the fire. These soldiers enjoy an immense advantage in having their disputes at once decided by a court of their own; whereas civilians are ground down by the law's delay. They have also certain privileges in the way of disposing of their property. . . . The Satire ends abruptly.

NOTES TO SATIRE XVI.

1, 2: *felicis praemia militiae*, "the advantages of military life, if it be successful," Macleane. I think this rendering rather weakens the passage; "of lucky military service" is preferable. **2**: *Quod si.* This reading is preserved by Priscian. The MSS. have *nam si.* The former is much better. "What a lucky trade is that of the soldier, in general! And if, in addition, it is a crack regiment that they are recruiting for, I shall be tempted to enlist myself." As to crack regiments, cf. Vegetius; Spartian. Hadr. 3; Vopisc. Aurel. ii. So the twelfth legion was called *fulminata* or *fulminatrix* (as early as the reign of Augustus, and quite independently of the legend connected with the words), cf. Burn's "Rome and the Campagna," p. 337. It is perhaps unnecessary to say that this furnishes no sort of evidence that the writer of this Satire was a young man at the time, cf. Pers. i 9. **3**: *pavidus*, "shy,'" "timid," as at xi 158, a fitting epithet for some recruits, if not for all. **5**: *Venus*, the mistress of Mars. *genetrix*, his mother Juno, who was especially worshipped at Samos, Virg. Aen. i 15 16.

7: Heinrich thinks this verse spurious, but it seems to me to be wanted. **9, 10**: *Audeat, Audeat.* These repetitions have already been noticed, x 103, note. **12**: *oculum . . . relictum* means "that his eye is still left in his head, but that the doctor won't guarantee its preserving its sight." **13**: If, however, he is determined on obtaining redress, he will have to go before a military tribunal. I take it that the man first goes to the praetor, who, if he assigns him a judex, must assign a military one. *Bardaicus.* It is not certain what this means. If it is a cloak, this expression would not be unlike *facinus majoris abollae* in ii. The word occurs again in Mart. iv 4, and Capit. Pertinax 8. *cuculli Bardaici.* Mart. has

Lassi bardaicus evocati (*bardiacus* is another reading, as here), where the old soldier's bardaicus is spoken of among things which stink. Some take it to mean a cloak, which when furnished with a hood was called *bardocucullus*, Mart. pássim. It may be taken here with *calceus*, or alone, as in Mart. above. Heinrich has given all that can be said on this subject. The centurion's cloak (or boots) and big calves are put for the centurion himself, before whom the unfortunate civilian is compelled to bring his plaint. These centurions are often represented as strapping, burly fellows, xiv 192, note. Spartianus tells us that Hadrian (in whose reign this Satire may very likely have been written) made a point of conferring centurionships on robust men only, Vit. Hadr. *grandes surae* is like *Curtius et Matho, buccae*, xi 34. **15**: *Camillus.* M. Furius Camillus was the great military hero of his time—the commencement of the fourth century before Christ—and is constantly cited by subsequent writers as a type of old Roman bravery, &c., Hor. Od. i 12 42; Epp. i 1 64. It is in that sense that he is mentioned here. We are not told elsewhere that he was the author of any such regulation as that mentioned in the text. **16** : *vallum*, properly the palisades on the *agger* or earthen wall surrounding the camp. The meaning is "outside the camp." **17** : *justissima Centurionum*, &c. These are the words of the injured man to himself. And I should prefer taking *tota cohors tamen*, &c., in the same way, and *cum duo crura habeas* as addressed to himself. *cognitio*, vi 485. He says, "Of course it is all right that the centurion should have jurisdiction over his soldiers, and doubtless he will be ready to do me justice. But alas! when I leave his court, I shall have to run the gauntlet of the whole regiment, who will fall upon me and serve me worse than I was served at first." **21** : *curabilis* only occurs here, and even here is disputed. Many MSS. read *consensu magno officiunt. curabilis ut sit*, which Achaintre follows. *Curabilis* may mean "that will require attending to," or "that you will have to care for;" it will be no joke, as we should say. **23**: Who *Vagellius* was we do not know. The name occurred at xiii 119. *corde* is here "understanding," as often; *aliis cor ipsum animus videtur*, Cic. Tusc. Q. i 9. *cordis cujus dis-*

simulatione brutus habebatur, Macrob. Sat. i 12. So *excors* commonly means "void of understanding," and *cordatus*, "intelligent." **24**: *Cum duo crura habeas*, "when you have got two sound legs," Macleane; "when you have still a pair of legs," Evans. But the meaning seems to be, "seeing that you have *only* two legs to oppose to so many high-lows." *duo* is contrasted with *tot*. *caligas*, "the thick military boot," iii 322; and id. 248. It seems to have been worn by the common soldiers only. Seneca speaks of Marius as *ad consulatum a caliga perductus*, de Benef. v 16, "*from* the ranks," as we should say. **25**: How will you get any witnesses to speak for you? *procul* is satirical. The camp was close to the city, v 153, note. *molem aggeris*. The rampart of Servius, which overlooked the camp, spoken of here, was nearly a mile long, and fifty feet broad, Dict. G. and R. Ant. "Agger." Burn's "Rome and the Campagna," p. 48. **28**: *se excusaturos*, "who are sure to excuse themselves," *periturae chartae*, i 18, "paper that is sure to be wasted." **29**: *da*, "produce," viii 68, note. **29, 30**: *audeat . . . Vidi*. This reminds us of vii 13 14, *Hoc satius quam si dicas sub judice "Vidi" Quod non vidisti*. **31**: *capillis*, "the long hair." "Worthy of a bearded and long-haired Roman of the old time." *barbato regi*, iv 103. *capillato consule*, v 30. **33**: *paganus*, after the time of Augustus, was commonly used for civilian, *pagani et milites*, Plin. Epp. x 18. *Equites . . . dimota paganorum turba . . . desertum a suis contrucidarunt*, Suet. Galb. 19. *inter paganos corruptior miles*, Tac. Hist. i 53, and elsewhere often.

36: *Sacramentorum* is here equivalent to *militiae*, or, possibly, to *militum*. *Sacramentum* was the oath which the soldiers took when enlisted. A form of military oath is given in Aul. Gell. xvi 4. *convallem* seems to mean here as elsewhere merely a valley. Festus says that properly it was a hollow surrounded by hills; *vallis* one between two ranges. **36**: sqq. The boundaries which divided one man's property from another were sacred among the Romans. Compare Deuteronomy: "Cursed be he that removeth his neighbour's land-mark." On the festival of the "Terminalia," the owners of adjacent property made offerings to the god Terminus.

Among these were cakes of meal and honey, &c. Sometimes a lamb, or a sucking pig, was slaughtered, *Spargitur et caesa communis Terminus agna Nec queritur lactens cum sibi porca datur*, Ov. Fast. ii 655; cf. Hor. Epod. 2 59. **41**: is repeated, with a slight variation, from xiii 137. **42**: *annus* must mean here a long time, "an age," as we say. *annum esurio*, Petron. 44. *Dum moliuntur dum comuntur* (or *conantur*) *annus est*, Ter. Heaut. Tim. ii 2. *jaceo . . . saucius annum*, Tibull. ii 5 109. **45**: *jam facundo*, &c. The meaning is very obscure. The sense is that the court is broken up on some pretext or other, just as Caedicius is taking off his cloak to plead, or Fuscus is preparing himself for a long speech, in another way. Compare a passage from C. Titius, quoted by Macrob. Sat. iii 16, *Judex testes poscit, ipsus it minctum.* Or, else, the court is ready, but the advocates loiter; so the case must wait. I prefer the former rendering. A *Fuscus* and a *Caedicius* have been mentioned before, but in a different connection. Here they are advocates, as *facundo* shows. Mr. Simcox has one of his extraordinary notes. "Fuscus has a drunken wife, xii 45, and drinks; hence *jam micturit*, in order to start fair"! **47**: *lenti . . . arena*, a metaphor from the arena. Pliny has one very similar, *Vectio Prisco quantum plurimum potuero praestabo, praesertim in arena mea, hoc est apud centumviros*, Epp. vi 22. **48**: An engraving of the *balteus* will be found in Dict. G. and R. Ant. **50**: *res atteritur*, &c. So *si litibus tererer*, Plin. Epp. viii 12, and *litibus conteror*, vii 5. *Modica respublica novis sumptibus atterebatur*, "was ground down," Epp. ix 33. *attritis facultatibus*, Suet. Galb. 3. And *intertrimentum* is used for "loss," Ter. Heaut. Tim. iii 1 39. *sufflamine*, "a drag-chain," viii 148, in reference to which note, see Rich, Dict. G. and R. Ant. ad voc. It is here used metaphorically. *sufflaminandus est*, Sen. of a man who talks too fast. Ben Jonson appears to have had this passage of Seneca in mind, when he wrote of Shakespeare, "sufflaminandus erat."

51–56: *pater* occurs three times in these six lines. Heinrich proposes *socer* at 56; but the change, besides having no authority, would destroy the humour of the passage, which consists in the idea of the man's own father

courting him for his money. On the *castrense* and *quasi castr. pecul.* and their exemption from paternal power, cf. Maine, "Ancient Law," p. 142, and Papin, quoted by Long. Cic. pro Mil. 29. This Satire is evidently an unfinished draught. *labor* too occurs three times in 51–57, and *favor* has been suggested at 56. *pulchro reddit sua dona labori*, whether we take *labor* or *hic* (the soldier, from *hunc*) as the nominative to *reddit*, is well-nigh unintelligible. *placuit*, "it has been decided." 60: Virgil describes the *torques* in Aen. v 558 559, *it pectore summo Flexilis obtorti per collum circulus auri.*

THE END.

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